SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT KASHMIR

(C. A.D. 855 - 1150)

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at assessing the social conditions in ancient Kashmir (C. A.D. 855-1150). In the introductory chapter, we give the importance of this period in the history of Kashmir, previous work done on the subject, the source material we use, and a brief account of the physical geography and political history.

In the second chapter we discuss the relative position of different castes and classes.

The third chapter deals with various aspects of the life of a Kashmiri. Here we discuss the life of the king, the ideas of kingship, the succession, city and village administration, the position of women, education, the merchant-bankers and the means of conveyance.

The fourth chapter concerns food and drink.

The fifth chapter deals with prices, coinage, and weights and measures.

In the sixth chapter we discuss dress and ornaments.

Games and amusements of the Kashmirians are dealt with in the seventh chapter.

The eighth chapter depicts popular beliefs and superstitions. We add a few words on Śākta beliefs and tāntric gurus.

The ninth chapter gives a description of the festival rites of the Kashmirians.

In the tenth chapter we discuss the importance of tīrthayātra. In furnishing a brief history of the sanctity of the pilgrimage places, we have restricted ourselves to the important ones. This is followed by a brief account of various religious foundations.

These chapters are followed by a conclusion in which the main results of this thesis are summarized.

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Like all pupils who are first ushered into the world of scholarship by their learned teachers, I feel good in recording my incalculable debt of gratitude to my revered teacher, Dr. J.G.De Casparis, Reader in the Department of History. It has been a pleasant task to research on the pleasant land of Kashmir under his pleasant, classical and erudite supervision. It was a delight to watch his fascination for my subject and to receive his ungrudging help and criticism. It is very kind of him to forgive always my sins of omission and to give his injections of politeness, loving encouragement and sympathetic attitude. In very truth he was the beacon-light and perennial source of guidance and inspiration and this work carries with it his masterly supervision. I shall remain indebted for all his kindness. I am much obliged to my old teachers in the Department of Ancient History and Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Professor Buddha Prakash (at present Professor and Head of the Department of History and Ancient History and Culture and Archaeology, Kurukşetra University), Professor Jagan Nath Aggarwal and to Mr. S.N.Chopra, for their encouragement and valuable suggestions.

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CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Ann. Rep., A.S.I.	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.S.	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
A.V.	Artharvaveda.
B.I.	Bibliotheca Indica.
Bṛhaspati	Bṛhaspatismṛti.
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
Cat. Catalog.	Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum.
C.B.C.	Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, 2 vols., by P.C.Bagchi, Paris and Calcutta, 1927 and 1928.
C.V.	Cūlavaṁśa.
Dānakāṇḍa	Dānakāṇḍa section of Kṛtyakalpataru.
G.O.S.	Gaekward Oriental Series.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
Essay	H.H.Wilson,"An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir," Transactions of the Asiatic Society, Asiatic Researches, vol. XV, Calcutta, 1825.
Fourth Chronicle	Rājāvalīpatākā of Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka.

F.T.T.C.	Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi (A General Record on Buddha and Patriarchs) by Monk Chih-p'an (thirteenth century A.D.), Taisho edition, no. 2035.
Gautama	Gautamasmṛti.
Gṛhasthakāṇḍa	Gṛhasthakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru
Handbook	R.C.Kak, Handbook of the Archological and Numismatic Sections of Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.
H.D.S.	History of Dharmaśāstras.
Hob	Hobogirin, Fascicule Annexe, Tables du Taisho Issaikyo. Ed. by Maison Franco-japonaise (Chief Editor - Paul Demiéville), Tokyo, 1931.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Jonarāja	Jonarāja, Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī (Calcutta Edition).
Jonarāja (Bombay Edition)	Jonarāja, Dvitīya-Rājataraṅgiṇī (Ed. Peterson, Bombay).

Kāmandaka	Kamandakanītisāra.
K.M.	Kāvyamāla Series.
Kātyāyana	Kātyāyanasmṛti.
Manu	Manusmṛti.
Mbh.	Mahābhārata.
Milinda	Milindapañho.
Nārada	Nāradasmṛti.
N.S.P.	Nirnaya Sagar Press.
Niyatakālakāṇḍa	Niyatakālakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru.
On Manu	Commentary of Medhātithi, and Kulluka on the Manusmṛti.
On Yājñavalkya	Commentaries of Viśvarupta, Vijñāneśvara and Aparārka on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.
P.W.M.B.	Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin.
R.A.S.B.	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Report	Bühler's Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India, J.B.B.R.A.S. (Extra No.), 1877.
R.T.	Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī.
R.V.	Ṛgveda.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
Śrīvara	Śrīvara, Rājataraṅgiṇī (Calcutta Edition).

Viṣṇu	Viṣṇusmṛti.
Yājñavalkya	Yājñavalkyasmṛti.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 1964, it was during a brief halt at Śrīnagar, intended to receive a passport issued to visit Ladakh with the intention of searching out material on the social life of the Ladakhis, when I was greatly attracted by the beauty of the Kashmir Valley and the sojourn turned into a stay of four months. The charming beauty of the 'Happy Valley', coupled with different Kashmirian social ways in certain respects I noticed while I stayed with a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa family were solely responsible in bringing about a turn in the tide which forced me to switch my attention from the Ladakhis to the Kashmirians. Those four months were utilized in the study of Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, visiting ancient sites of historical importance, observing social customs and institutions and making general enquiries about the data I gleaned from the Chronicle. I chose to reconstruct the social conditions in ancient Kashmir from the time of Utpala dynasty, founded in A.D.855, to the times of Kalhaṇa and the present work is an attempt in this direction.

It was due to the protection and isolation afforded by the mountain-ramparts to the country of Kashmir that it remained a sanctum of Hindu culture as late as the beginning of the fourteenth

century. In the early decades of the eleventh century the great wave of invasion under Mahmūd of Ghazni, which swept across the Indus Valley and along the Panjab plains never endangered the independence of the Kashmirians. Indeed with the exceptions of an expedition[1] despatched under Tuṅga, the prime minister of king Saṁgramarāja (A.D.1003-1028), to the assistance of Śāhī Trilocanapāla against Mahmūd's invasion, and a serious attempt of Mahmūd, aimed at the conquest of the Valley from the south[2] when his progress was checked by the fort of Lōh-kōt, which 'was remarkable on account of its height and strength', we do not read of anyother foreign invasion of the Valley. In more than one way, the period under review proved a land-mark in the history of Kashmir. Kashmir produced such great men of letters as Abhinavagupta, Somadeva, Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa, who by their compositions added lustre to Sanskrit literature. There occurred a great development of Advaita Śaivism in Kashmir. But Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism continued to exist with complete toleration. In his

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[1] R.T., VII, 47-69.

[2] R.T., VII, 70. Elliot, History of India, vol. II, pp. 455-, 466 sq.

Daśāvatāracarita, Kṣemendra describes Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. 'The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of the most remarkable books that Kṣemendra, who was himself a Śaivite, produced was on the Avadānas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.' The period witnessed a great construction work in the form of the foundation of temples and the Vihāras though the latter were fewer in number. Kashmir continued to be a great seat of learning attracting foreign students. Mathas which were erected in great number during this period, and the Vihāras were centres of Hindu and Buddhist learning. Women continued to hold a good position in the society. Institutions such as satī and devadāsī received momentum and became regular features of the Kashmirian life. During the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), far-reaching reforms were carried out which gave tremendous boost to agriculture. Kings like Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) introduced in Kashmir new fashions in dress and ornaments of southern India. The period is very significant so far as the emergence of the Ḍāmaras as an influential and powerful landowning class is concerned. But we should not forget that for most of the period the land of Kashmir was in the grip of civil war as a result of the struggle between the ruling authority and the powerful landholders (Ḍāmaras) who had gained great power by

this time. During such periods of confusion and disorder, the general condition of the people turned sad as the account of Kalhaṇa reveals.

The history of Kashmir has been a subject of study for many scholars who usefully contributed on one aspect or the other. Before M.A.Stein published in 1892 his critical text of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and eight years later an English translation of the text together with notes, introduction, a memoir on the ancient geography and appendices, scholars such as H.H. Wilson, Troyer, Cunningham, Lassen and Yogesh Chundur Dutt had laboured hard to acquaint us with the history of Kashmir but because of the incomplete and defective manuscripts which they could lay their hands on, full justice could not be given with no fault of their own.

H.H.Wilson is credited with having first introduced us to the general character of Kalhaṇa's work and the critical abstract of the contents of the first six taraṅgas of the Rājataraṅgiṇī . To Troyer belongs the merit of translating into French, in 1852, the first six taraṅgas of the Rājataraṅgiṇī , accompanied by historical and geographical accounts. A. Cunningham received credit for his labours and his patient researches on the topography, Chronological system of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, architecture and the monetary system of Kashmir are very useful.

We mention G. Bühler as the next pioneer in the field and his Report in search of Sanskrit manuscripts is very instructive and gave M.A.Stein an impetus to carry further the task of translating the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Yogesh Chundur Dutt's translation which appeared at Calcutta, 1879-87, was useful when it was composed. M.A.Stein receives the greatest share of merit for his monumental researches. The great importance of his work as a valuable guide for future researches can hardly be over-estimated. The works of H.H.Dole, W.G.Cowie, and D.R. Sahni give us a good idea of the architecture of ancient Kashmir. In his Ancient Monuments of Kashmir R.C.Kak furnishes a good account of the art history of Kashmir and the archaeological findings from various sites. H.C.Ray's Dynastic History of Northern India includes a good account on the Political history of Kashmir of our period. In his book State in Ancient India, Beni Prasad discusses briefly the polity of ancient Kashmir. U.N.Ghoshal's analysis on Kalhaṇa as a historian contains little more than Stein's interpretation. J.C.Chatterji's Kaśmir Śaivism is a useful work.

Dr. Sufi's Kashīr in two volumes is a useful research but he dilates upon the Muslim period, giving the history of Hindu period in a single chapter. Early History and Culture of

Kashmir by S.C.Ray is a useful piece of work but the author concentrates more on the ancient topography, political history, administration and art history. His account on a few aspects of social history is sketchy and needs further improvement. P.N.K.Bamzai's History of Kashmir traces the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the modern times and the pages on the Hindu period do not say much which is newer than what has appeared before.

There has been no serious attempt to portray the Kashmirian society in ancient Kashmir. Some social aspects that come under the care of existing works are not adequately dealt with. In this thesis we have endeavoured to reconstruct the social conditions in ancient Kashmir (C. A.D.855-1150).

The important part which the general physical features of the country of Kashmir have played in its social, economic and political history can hardly be overestimated. Ancient Kashmir was confined to the Valley drained by the headwaters of the river Vitastā and to the inner slopes of the mountains that surround it. The account of Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, and Śrīvara amply show that ordinarily Kashmir of Kashmirian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges that encircle and protect the Valley.[1] The extent of the natural

[1]But at times the influence of Kashmirian power was felt beyond this boundary. At the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit much of the

limits of the country of Kashmir were appreciated by the foreign writers like Hiuen Tsang, Ou-K'ong and Alberuni.

The great mountain-barriers that surround the small country of Kashmir had a direct and distinct bearing on its history and culture. The impregnability of the mountains enabled Kashmir to preserve and consolidate itspeculiar social conditions. Their importance as a great protecting wall has always been appreciated and recognised. Since ancient times, the Kashmirians have been proud of their country's safety from foreign invasion, afforded by mountain defences. The country of Kashmir 'may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers. Hence its inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond',[1] thus

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adjacent territories on the south and west were under the suzerainty of Kashmir. The places mentioned by him (Si-yu-ki, vol. I, pp. 136, 143, 147, 163) are Takṣaśilā to the east of the Indus, Uraśa or Hazāra, Siṁhapura or the Salt Range, Rājapuri and Parṇotsay or Punch. King Lalitāditya is recorded to have conquered territories as far as Kanauj and his grandson Jayāpiḍa tested his arms with the kings of Kanauj, Gauḍa and Nepal. Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) conquered Dārvābhisara and some tracts of northern Panjab. Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) re-established the Kashmirian authority over Rājapuri and among the neighbouring states which accepted the mettle of Kashmir, mention may be made of Campā, Vallāpura, Uraśā and Kāṣṭhavāṭa.

[1] R.T., I, 39.

proudly writes Kalhaṇa. The great importance of mountains serving as natural defences was duly recognised by foreign writers.[1] 'The kingdom of Kaśmīr,' writes Hiuen Tsang, 'is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted. The neighbouring states that have attacked it have never succeeded in subduing it.'[2] Alberuni writes: 'They are particularly anxious about the natural strengthof their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them.'[3] The small forts which guarded these passes leading into the Valley are referred toin the Rājataraṅgiṇī and later accounts by the word dvāra, 'gate' or by the more specific terms draṅga, or ḍhakka. Certain passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī show that these dvāras served also the purposes of customs and police administration. These forts were garrisoned by troops under commanders known as draṅgeśa or draṅgādhipa. The officer in charge of all the frontier stations was designated as 'lord

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[1] Si-yu-ki, vol. I, p.148. L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong, p.356. Al-Masudi, Meadows of Gold (tr. Sprenger), vol. I, p.382. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.432.

[2] Si-yu-ki, vol. I, p.148.

[3] Sachau, vol. I, p. 206.

of the gate' (dvārādhikārin, dvārādhīsvara) - the very post Kalhaṇa's father Campaka held under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101).

Ancient Kashmir has been likened to an irregular oval Valley about eighty-four miles in length, from south-east to north-west and its width varies from twenty to twenty-five miles. Its height above the sea is everywhere 5,000 feet and the mountain-ranges that enclose it vary at different points from 10,000 to 18,000 feet in height. The slopes of these mountains are drained by rivers and streams which join the river Vitastā within the Kashmir plain. The side-valleys of these tributaries provide much cultivated ground and even the higher zones of the mountain slopes are clothed with a belt of magnificent forests which add to the economy of Kashmir. The Kashmirians have always appreciated the moderate temperature of their summer ensured by the elevation of the Valley. Kalhaṇa writes with patriotic pride: 'Out of respect, as it were, the sun does not burn fiercely, during summer even, in that country which has been created by his father Kāśyapa, as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.'[1] Elsewhere, he dwells on the charms of the 'most delightful Kaśmīr summer which is not to be found elsewhere in the whole world.'[2] At the

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[1] R.T., I, 41.

[2] R.T., II, 138.

[illegible]

same time Kalhaṇa does not forget to refer to the rigours of Kashmir winter which at the time of heavy snowfall is sometimes severely felt.[1] 'The comparative immunity from fear of foreign domination, due to the strength of the country's natural defences and to the practical impregnability of the routes leading to it, the abundance and varietyof wholesome and nutritious food, the mild and salubrious climate, the narrowness of the geographical horizon - the Kashmiri could see his whole world from the roof of his house - are largely responsible for moulding the character of the inhabitants of the Happy Valley, a character which has remained unaltered for many centuries.'[2]

In A.D.855, with the accession of Avantivarman, the grandson of Utpala, starts over Kashmir the rule of the new dynasty, known as the Utpala. Avantivarman descended from a family of ministers who had raised themselves from a low origin to the position of king-makers.Avantivarman is described as a lovable person and his reign of little less than thirty years is said to have brought consolidatinn to the country which, due to internal troubles caused by the feuds of powerful barons and the oppressive administration of the kāyasthas, had suffered politically as well as economically during the last half century.

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[1] R.T., VII, 592; VIII, 411, 1376 sqq., 1434 sqq., 2710 sqq.

[2] R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 4-5.

He directed his attention solely to the internal recovery of the country. The great change in the material condition of the country, brought about by the irrigation reforms carried out by his able engineer minister Suyya, is evidenced by the fact that the price of a Khāri of rice, the staple food of the Kashmirians, fell from 200 Dīnnāras to 36 Dīnnāras only. A large number of temples were founded during his time. He was a liberal patron of learning and highly honoured scholars and poets of his day.

Avantivarman was succeeded by his son Śaṁkaravarman who, unlike his father, was cruel and avaricious and averse to learning. Having secured hisposition by defeating all contenders to the throne, Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) set about a round of foreign expeditions which Kalhaṇa with poetic magniloquence describes as 'reviving the tradition of the conquest of the world'. The first territory he turned towards was Dārvābhisāra, the hill-tract which stretches from the Pīr Pantsāl range towards the plains of the Panjab. Pṛthivīcandra, the ruler of Trigarta (Kangra), is recorded to have approached Śaṁkaravarman, to pay his homage, but subsequently fled in terror. Kalhaṇa's account does not tell plainly about the actual conquest of the territory. Śaṁkaravarman's next target was Alakhāna, the ruler of Gurjara territory which comprised 'the upper portion of the flat Doāb

between the Jehlam and Cinãb rivers south of Dãrvãbhisãra, and probably also a part of the Panjãb plain further east'.[1] Alakhãna ceded to Śaṁkaravarman the Takka-land, 'by which designation a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Cinãb is probably meant'.[2] His next expedition was against the 'illustrious Lalliya Śãhi' of Udbhaṇḍa in whom we must recognize the founder of the 'Hindu Shãhiya' dynasty, probably Kallar of Alberuni.[3] But he does not appear to have achieved any material success in this direction. These wars sapped the treasury and demanded of king Śaṁkaravarman that he resort to excessive fiscal exactions which resulted in oppression.[4] King Śaṁkaravarman goes down in the history of Kashmir, as a cruel and oppressive ruler.

The period of thirty-seven years following the death of Śaṁkaravarman in A.D.902 was marked by gross misrule during which as many as ten rulers occupied the throne, viz., Gopãlavarman (A.D. 902-904), Sugandhã (A.D.904-906), Pãrtha (A.D.906-921), Nirjitavarman (A.D.921-923), Cakravarman (A.D.923-933), Śũravarman I

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[1] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), V, 143-144 note.

[2] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), V, 150 note.

[3] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), V, 152-155 note. Sachau, vol. II, p.13.

[4] R.T., V, 167-171.

(.A.D. 933-934), Śambhuvardhana (A.D. 935-936), Cakravarman restored (A.D. 936-937), Unmattāvanti (A.D.937-939), Śūravarman II (A.D.939). During this period the power was in the hands of the Tantrins and the Ekaṅgas, which rival and antagonistic military organisations, who acted as true king-makers. Kings and ministers were at their mercy. The throne was bought by paying them bribes in a competitive spirit. There was no love lost between the king and his son and the ministers following a dubious policy sided with that party that promised them more gains. In A.D.936, the deposed Cakravarman, with the help of the Ḍāmaras, crushed the power of the Tantrins and now onwards we find the Ḍāmaras gaining more and more influence and power. In A.D.939, the Brāhmaṇa Yaśaskāra,[1] as the son of Gopālavarman's treasurer Prabhākaradeva was chosen by the Brāhmaṇa assembly, as the king of Kashmir. His rule of nine years is described as wise during which time the country received the much needed respite from the chaos and disorder that prevailed in Kashmir during the preceding four decades. He is described as a just and good administrator.[2] Among various foundations that go to his credit, special mention may be made of a Maṭha for the foreign students.[3] But his reign was not without blemish and towards the end of his reign, he is

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[1] R.T., V, 461 sqq.

[2] R.T., VI, 14-67.

[3] R.T., VI, 87 sqq.

recorded to have earned a bad name for himself by fiscal exactions.[1]

Yaśaskara was succeeded by his minor son Śaṁgrāmadeva who ruled for a few months only. The treacherous minister Parvagupta, who has been on the look out for an opportunity for the past couple of years to seize power, rose to the occasion and, after killing the child king, assumed royal power. But he was not destined to enjoy the realm long and after oppressing the people for about a year and a half died of leprosy.[2] Parvagupta, who traced his descent back to a family of clerks (divira), was succeeded by his son Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), a sensual youth who was kept engrossed in dice, wine and women by his evil-conducted parasites, who later also encouraged him to commit excesses.[3] The foundation of the Kṣemagaureśvara temple at Śrīnagar was the only notable act of his reign.[4] His marriage with Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja, chief of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of Śāhi Bhīmapāla, is significant in so far as it brought Kashmir under the rule of the Lohara family. Queen Diddā played an important part in the history of Kashmir. Coming from the noble Śāhi family, she possessed a political mind which

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[1] R.T., VI, 68-84.

[2] R.T., VI, 130-148.

[3] R.T., VI, 151-170.

[4] R.T., VI, 171 sqq.

kept her on the scene for close on half a century. Her influence over Kṣemagupta was so overwhelming that the latter came to be known by the nickname Diddākṣema.[1]

Kṣemagupta died in A.D. 958 and was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu II. As he was a minor the real power fell in to the hands of Diddā who acted as a regent-mother. Court factions characterized this period and Diddā had to fight very hard for her existence. Abhimanyu died young and was succeeded in A.D. 972 by his young son Nandigupta. But only after a year, the ambitious and lustful Diddā destroyed Nandigupta by witchcraft. Tribhuvanagupta (A.D. 973-975), another grandson who succeeded Nandigupta, was similarly removed by Diddā.[2] Then the throne went to the only remaining grandson Bhīmagupta (A.D. 975-980/1). The heartless and cruel queen had Bhīmagupta also put to death by torture in A.D. 980/1, and herself ascended the throne.[3] During the following twenty-three years, Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Parṇotsa , who had made his way into Kashmir as a letter-carrier and had become queen's favourite and paramou , maintained an undisputed predominance as the prime minister. Various attempts made by the discontented factions to oust Tuṅga

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[1] R.T., VI, 177.

[2] R.T., VI, 311 sqq.

[3] R.T., VI, 330 sqq.

were foiled by Diddā's cunning diplomacy and bribes and Tuṅga's personal courage and prowess.[1] During her reign, Tuṅga is said to have launched a successful expedition against Rājapurī and consequently earned a tribute from Pṛthivipāla, the ruler of this hilly state.[2] Before dying in A.D.1003, Diddā conferred Yuvrājaship on her young nephew Saṁgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara.[3] At her death in A.D.1003, the rule over Kashmir passed peacefully to the house of Lohara.

Saṁgramārāja is described as a prudent but weak ruler. The dissatisfied ministers, invoking the help of the Brāhmaṇas and temple purohitas, stirred up an uprising[4] to oust Tuṅga, but in vain. Saṁgrāmarāja did not check ever-increasing predominance of Tuṅga and their carelessness led to maladministration resulting in fiscal exactions. Elsewhere, we have referred to a force of Kashmirians sent under Tuṅga to help Śāhi Trilocanapāla when the latter was attacked by Mahmūd of Ghazni as also the unsuccessful attempt made by Mahmūd to conquer the Valley from the south.

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[1] R.T., VI, 335 sqq.

[2] R.T., VI, 348 sqq.

[3] R.T., VI, 355 sqq.

[4] R.T., VII,13 sqq.

Saṁgrāmarāja was succeeded by his son Harirāja, but the latter died after only twenty-two days.[1] Śrīlekha, the mother of Harirāja vainly endeavoured to secure the throne for herself and Ananta, the son of Harirāja was raised to the throne. Vigraharāja, a brother of Saṁgrāmarāja and ruler of Lohara, attempted tooust Ananta but was defeated and killed.[2] During the early years of Ananta's reign (A.D.1028-1063), the Śāhi princes such as Rudrapāla and Diddāpāla who earned great subsidies exercised great influence and power.[3] Ananta displayed great prowess in successfully defeating the rebel commander-in-chief Tribhuvana, who with the help of the Ḍāmaras rose against the king.[4] He also emerged triumphant against the Dard ruler Acalamaṅgala when the latter invaded Kashmir.[5]

Kalhaṇa refers to queen Sūryamatī's predominance over king Ananta and her assumption of full charge of the royal affairs. This brought peace and stability to the land. Ananta won a victory

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[1] R.T., VII, 131 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII,139 sqq.

[3] R.T., VII, 144 sqq.

[4] R.T., VII, 154 sqq.

[5] R.T., VII, 167 sqq., Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 34.

over king Sāla of Campā,[1] but his expedition against the hill states of Uraśa and Vallāpura ended in fiasco.[2]

In A.D.1063, queen Sūryamatī persuaded Ananta to abdicate in favour of his son Kalaśa. The couple soon realised their mistake and consequently Ananta resumed charge of the royal functions while Kalaśa's title of king was purely nominal. This arrangement went on for some time without any trouble but Kalaśa, during this period, is said to have grown very licentious as Kalhaṇa paints his misdoings.[3] In A.D. 1076 there occurred a rupture between Ananta and Kalaśa and the former, acting on the advice of the queen, retired to the town of Vijayeśvara,[4] taking with him the royal treasure and most of the troops. After some time Kalaśa became hostile and set fire to Vijayeśvara, which did great damage to the treasures and stores.[5] Not long after, after an altercation with his queen Sūryamatī, Ananta committed suicide.[6]

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[1] R.T., VII, 218; Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 38.

[2] R.T., VIII, 219 sqq. If we believe Bilhaṇa (Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 35-38), Ananta held his supremacy over Darvābhisara, Trigarta and Bhartula.

[3] R.T., VII, 273 sqq.

[4] R.T., VII, 354 sqq.

[5] R.T., VII, 408 sqq.

[6] R.T., VII, 445 sqq.

The acquisition of full power worked wonders and was instrumental in bringing about a change for the better in his conduct as Kalaśa appears totally a different man, looking always worried for the welfare of his subjects. He gave good administration to the country and thus relieved his financial straits.[1] After securing his position at home, Kalaśa set about asserting his authority over the neighbouring states. Supporting the cause of Saṁgrāmapāla, the rightful chief of Rājapurī, against his uncle Madanpāla, he reestablished the Kashmir suzerainty over that state.[2] He made his influence felt among the surrounding hill-states and it is said that in the winter of the year A.D.1087-1088, the chiefs of eight hill-states around Kashmir assembled at the Kashmir capital.[3]

Kalaśa died in A.D.1089 and was succeeded by Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa. Following the policy of Kalaśa, he kept Harṣa imprisoned.[4] But Utkarṣa soon lost the confidence of the court and the people and taking advantage of the situation Harṣa found an ally in his younger half-brother Vijayamalla and encouraged

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[1] R.T., VII, 506 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 533.

[3] R.T., VII, 587 sqq.

[4] R.T., VII, 737 sqq.

him to raise a rebellion. Vijayamalla attacked Utkarṣa[1] and the latter in his straits tried to have Harṣa killed in the prison but the murderous plot failed and the guards who had been won over by Harṣa set the prince free. After having secured a compromise with Vijayamalla, Harṣa made Utkarṣa captive in the palace. Unable to stomach this insult and disgrace, Utkarṣa committed suicide by cutting his arteries. He was only twenty-four.[2]

Harṣa is the most striking figure among the rulers of our period. Kalhaṇa furnishes an elaborate description of Harṣa's character. He is described 'as a youth of powerful frame and great personal beauty, courageous and fond of display, well versed in various sciences and a lover of music and arts. Cruelty and kindheartedness, liberality and greed, violent self-willedness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought - these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harṣa's chequered life.' Using this shrewdness and wise forbearance, he retained many of his father's officials, notwithstanding their previous treatment towards himself.[3] We

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[1] R.T., VII, 762 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 861.

[3] R.T., VII, 886 sqq.

have discussed at proper places his fine tastes and introduction of various fashions and manners.

Saṁgrāmarāja, the chief of Rājapurī, now appears to have turned hostile. Kandarpa, the 'lord of the Gate', led an expedition against Saṁgrāmarāja and after inflicting defeat on the latter, forced him to pay tribute.[1] Court intrigues and hostilities from near relatives characterized our period. He crushed plots hatched at different times by Vijayamalla, Jayarāja another half-brother from a concubine and Dhammata, a relative from another branch of the Lohara family.[2]

Elsewhere, we have given detailed references to his extravagant expenditure on the troops and indulgence in costly pleasures which led him to embark on a systematic temple spoliation and impose new and oppressive imposts which reduced the country to chaos and confusion. At this time Harṣa foolishly undertook some enterprises. His expedition against Rājapurī and the Dards ended in complete humiliation and disaster. This was followed by a famine caused by a serious flood. A plague that ensued worsened the situation and took a great toll of the Kashmirian population. The Dāmaras took advantage of this anarchical

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[1] R.T., VII, 967 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 899 sqq., 1013-1067.

state and resorted to plunder and confiscation. This was unbearable for Harṣa who proceeded to relentless persecution of the Dāmaras, which Kalhaṇa describes in great detail. Another blunder which Harṣa committed at this time was to look with suspicious eyes at Uccala and Sussala, the sons of Malla, and descended from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty, as possible claimants of the crown. Knowing that Harṣa has planned their murder they fled at night from Śrīnagar. Uccala found a refuge with Saṁgrāmapala in Rājapurī and Sussala with Kalha, the chief of Kalińjara. Kalhaṇa records in detail the hostility that ensued. The brothers secured the help of the Dāmaras and attacked Harṣa with a powerful army. Harṣa was betrayed by his followers and the victorious Uccala entered Śrīnagar and set fire to the royal palace. Kalhaṇa describes touchingly Harṣa's flight from the city. He took shelter ina beggar's hut where he was murdered by the followers of Uccala.[1]

Uccala who wielded power in A.D.1101 had a bad time to start with. He had to contend with his brother Sussala who was ready to rise against him, and the leaders of the Dāmaras who after helping Uccala in his successful bid for the throne had started behaving as the true rulers. He very wisely ceded to

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[1] R.T., VII, 1717 sqq.

his younger brother, Sussala, an independent chiefship of Lohara. He gave a proof of his shrewdness when he secured his position against the Dāmaras by creating mutual jealousy and suspicion amongst them which resulted in murder and exile of most of their influential leaders, 'without himself incurring the odium'. Now the iron was hot and he hit other Dāmaras and forced them into disarmament and submission.[1] Next came the turn of the officials (kāyasthas). Kalhaṇa describes Uccala as an energetic, capable and just ruler and commends his liberality and considerate regard for his subjects.[2] He records with humour and relish the persecution of the kāyasthas which Uccala carried out rather systematically.[3] Jealousy of personal merits and harshness of temper and speech were the main defects in his character.[4]

But he was not destined to rest long. His ambitious brother Sussala attacked him but was driven to take asylum in Dard territory from where he made fresh efforts to regain his old seat.[5] The birth

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[1] R.T., VIII, 39 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 46 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 85 sqq.

[4] R.T., VIII, 162 sqq.

[5] R.T., VIII, 191-208.

of Jayasiṁha, the son of Sussala, brought about a reconciliatinn between the two brothers. But the peace thus secured could not flower and Uccala became a victim of a conspiracy hatched by the city prefect Chuḍḍa and his brother Raḍḍa who claimed descent from Yaśaskara. Their cause was backed by the disgruntled officials whom Uccala had dismissed. After murdering Uccala in the palace,[1] Raḍḍa ascended the blood-stained throne the same night but enjoyed it only till the folowing morning.[2] A leading Dāmara, Gargacandra, who had achieved great power and fame as a result of special favour bestowed on him by Uccala, avenged his master's death by putting to death Raḍḍa and his partisans.[3]

Unable to find someone suitable to act as regent for Uccala's infant son, Gargacandra crowned Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uccala.[4] Receiving the news of his brother's murder, Sussala started for Kashmir to assert his claim but his small force could not match the mettle of Gargacandra, and he fled back to his kingdom.[5] Salhaṇa proved indolent and worthless.

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[1] R.T., VIII, 303 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 342, 356.

[3] R.T., VIII, 346 - 356

[4] R.T., VIII, 371 sqq.

[5] R.T., VIII, 379-411.

Soon after, Gargacandra lost his grip and he opened negotiations with Sussala for his return. Sussala accepted two daughters of Gargacandra as brides for himself and his son Jayasiṁha. He pushed on to the capital, occupied it and besieged Salhaṇa in the palace and succeeded in making him a prisoner.[1]

Sussala's rule is marked by a series of internal troubles stirred up by Dāmaras whom king Sussala vainly tried to suppress. Not much time passed before hehad to face a rebellion of Gargacandra and his own relatives. He had to seize Gargacandra's fortified seats regularly before he could force the latter into submission.[2] He proceeded to Lohara and imprisoned Salhaṇa and Lothaṇa. But the man who really proved a pain in his neck was Bhikṣācara, Harṣa's grandson, whose escape and growth abroad Kalhaṇa relates by a story.[3] Bhikṣācara met at Kurukṣetra a group of hill-chiefs from Campā, Vallapura and other neighbouring states, who had gone to the holy site on a pilgrimage. They supported the cause of Bhikṣācara but the invasion met with failure due to internal feuds.[4] Some time about A.D.1117 Sussala made operations

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[1] R.T., VIII, 450-480.

[2] R.T., VIII, 502 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 255 sqq.

[4] R.T., VIII, 549 sqq.

against Gargacandra and succeeded at last in putting to deaththe latter and his three sons.[1] At the same time he carried out an expedition against Somapāla, the chief of Rājapurī, whohad invited Bhikṣācara. Though he was successful in his encounter, he could not establish there Nāgapāla, Somapāla's brother whose cause he had taken and after an occupation of Rājapurī for seven months he retired to his territory.[2] The expedition involved heavy expenditure which forced him to resort to oppressive imposts which created discontent. The year A.D.1120 experienced a dangerous rebellion of the Ḍāmaras headed by Pṛthivihāra in the eastern part of the Valley and by the spring it turned into a general revolt.[3] By bringing Bhikṣācara into their party they 'gave the revolt unity and a well-defined object". Sussala was besieged in Śrīnagar. For some time he held his enemy back but at last in the face of treachery and rebellion among his own army, he was forced to leave the city with some faithful followers and reached Lohara.[4]

Bhikṣācara's rule was of short duration. He, being inexperienced and sensual by nature, neglected the affairs of the

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[1] R.T., VIII, 605 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 621 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 661.

[4] R.T., VIII, 723-827.

the State. The people were at the mercy of the Dāmaras and the mutual jealousy and quarrels among the latter further aggravated the affairs. In the midst of such confusion and chaos, Bhikṣācara foolishly despatched the prime minister Bimba to conquer Lohara. He was assisted by Somapāla, the chief of Rājapurī. But they were routed by Sussala and consequently many Kashmirian soldiers joined Sussala's camp. Sussala then headed towards Śrīnagar to capture the throne and was joined by many leading Dāmaras. Bhikṣācara fled from the capital and took refuge with the chief of Rājapurī.

Sussala could not enjoy a restful time even after his restoration (A.D.1121-1128). Bhikṣācara established himself at Puṣyāṇanāḍa at the southern foot of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass from where he started fresh incursions. He defeated the royal troops at Vijayeśvara.[1] The year A.D.1122 was full of attacks and counter-attacks in which sometimes the royal troops gained success and at others the pretender. In A.D.1123, the Dāmaras besieged Śrīnagar and set the city on fire which did great damage to property and life.[2] Sussala succeeded in dispersing the Dāmara hosts but is said to have been dishearted by these calamities. The following

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[1] R.T., VIII, 968 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1155 sqq.

few years were comparatively calm. Sussala planned to kill Bhikṣācara through an assassin and to carry this out he entered into a secret pact with Utpala, an agent of Tikka, a baron in the Devasarasa district. But the fickle-minded Utpala disclosed this to his master and at the instigation of the latter succeeded in his attempt to murder Sussala.

Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1150) is recorded to have been a great statesmen. As there was every possibility that the rebels might attack him, he proclaimed a general amnesty and consequently strong men like Pañcacandra, son of Dāmara Gargacandra came under his banner. The powerful Pañcacandra repulsed the attack of Bhikṣācara.[1] This initial success coupled with the advent of numerous trusted officers of his father under his belt made Jayasiṁha more assured.[2] Another attack launched by Bhikṣācara with the assistance of the Dāmaras was beaten back by Sujji inflicting heavy loss to the enemy's force.[3] Other successes that followed and the coming over of many influential Dāmaras to his camp, bought over by offering bribes andother means, left Jayasiṁha in a commanding position wherefrom he could

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1383 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1402, sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 1497 sqq.

dictate things. But the power of the Dāmaras still remained uncurbed who were now in their full blossom. It was due to a change of policy towards the Dāmaras that he could maintain his rule for twenty-seven years with comparative safety. His success is attributed to his 'cunning diplomacy and unscrupulous intrigue, skill in plotting and of his self-possession'.

Bhikṣācara made another attempt when he invaded from the south but was driven away thanks to the diplomacy and bravery of Lakṣmaka and Sujji - the commander-in-chief.[1] But Sujji was exiled through the jealousy of Lakṣmaka and the former decided to take up the cause of Bhikṣācara. But before Sujji could join him, the impatient Bhikṣācara started to try his luck again. But the royal troops besieged him in the castle of Bāṇaśālā, held by a Khaśa chief, at the southern foot of the Bānahal Pass.[2] He was betrayed by the Khaśas and his Dāmara colleagues and was killed in A.D.1130.[3] But fresh troubles broke out in other quarters. Lothaṇa set himself free from the prison and assumed power at Lohara.[4] The force sent under Lakṣmaka met with failure[5]

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1584 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1665 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 1702-1775.

[4] R.T., VIII, 1794 sqq.

[5] R.T., VIII, 1865 sqq.

and Lothaṇa maintained his position with Sujji as his prime minister. But soon he was deposed by a plot of his former partisans, in favour of Mallārjuna, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, who was kept in Lohara jail.[1] But soon after, Jayasiṁha captured Lohara by sending a force under Sujji who had previously been reconciled.[2] Mallārjuna fled to Rājapurī from where he was captured in A.D.1135. Sujji and his relatives were also killed on the king's order.

The following few years were peaceful during which Jayasiṁha restored many temples and maṭhas. The outbreak of hostilities in the Dard territory following the death of its ruler Yaśodhara, offered Jayasiṁha an opportunity to extend his influence in the north.[3] But his attempt met with failure and the new ruler Viḍḍasiṁha stirred up troubles against Jayasiṁha. Taking advantage of the situation, Lothaṇa, the old pretender, again appeared on the scene. His cause was taken by Alaṁkāracakra, a powerful Ḍāmara in the district of Karṇāha, on the Upper Kiṣangaṅga, Vigrahārāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṁha, and Bhoja, a son of king Salhaṇa. To combat this serious general rising Jayasiṁha

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1921 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1989-2024.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2454 sqq.

despatched a force which besieged the enemy in the Śirah-śilākoṭṭa,[1] a hill-caste of Alaṁkāracakra on the Kiṣangaṅga, and after a long seige forced Alaṁkāracakra to hand over Lothaṇa and Vigrahārāja to the royal troops.[2] Bhoja, however, managed to escape and took asylum with the Dard ruler Viddasiṁha. Later, accepting the help offered by the Dard ruler, Rājavadana, a discontented officer of Jayasiṁha and joined by powerful Dāmaras such as Trillaka and Catuṣka, Bhoja raised a standard of rebellion.[3] Jayasiṁha succeeded in averting this danger with great difficulty,[4] But Jayasiṁha could not breathe a sigh of relief till A.D.1145 when Bhoja surrendered through the mediation of Jayasiṁha's queen Kalhaṇikā.[5] From this time to A.D.1149-50 when Kalhaṇa closes his account, Jayasiṁha appears to have ruled with peace. He crowned his eldest son Gulhaṇa as the ruler of Lohara.[6] Numerous religious foundations made by the king, his queens as well as the ministers

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[1] R.T., VIII, 2492 sqq.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2641.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2718 sqq.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2761 sqq.

[5] R.T., VIII, 3018-3179.

[6] R.T., VIII, 3301 sqq.

have been mentioned elsewhere. According to Jonarāja's chronicle, Jayasiṁha ruled up to A.D. 1154-1155.

Sources

We have compiled our material broadly from two kinds of sources, viz., literary and the archaeological, though the latter are comparatively scanty.

Of the literary sources, by far the most important is Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī which is a veritable mine of information, not only for the political history of ancient Kashmir, but also for the social and cultural history in general. The colophons attached to each Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī ascribes its composition to 'Kalhaṇa, the son of the great Kaśmīrian minister, the illustrious Lord Caṇpaka.' Kalhaṇa completed his chronicle in A.D. 1148-49.[1] Looking at the date of the composition of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the above titles, the identity of Kalhaṇa's father with Caṇpaka who is mentioned as the lord of the Gate (dvārapati) or commandant of the frontier defences in the latter part of Harṣa's reign (A.D.1089-1101) becomes highly probable.[2] Though Kalhaṇa nowhere mentions about his caste, there are strong indications that he belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family. Sanskrit learning

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[1] R.T., VIII, 3403.

[2] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, Introduction, p.6.

of the type displayed in the Rājataraṅgiṇī has, in Kaśmīr, as elsewhere in India, been always cultivated chiefly if not exclusively, by Pandits of Brahman descent.[1] Quite often he mentions the Brāhmaṇas with such high-sounding titles as 'the gods on earth' and shows great sympathy with Brahmanic self-assertion.[2] Moreover Jonarāja refers to him with the epithet dvija.[3] Every Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī begins with prayers addressed to Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara. This clearly speaks of Kalhaṇa's attachment to Śaiva faith. He also describes his father Caṇpaka as a devout worshipper at the Tīrthasof Nandikṣetra, all of which are sacred to Śiva.[4]

The Rājataraṅgiṇī consists of eight taraṅgas. The history of the period under question is covered in the fifth, sixth, seventh and the eighth taraṅgas. In the introduction of his chronicle Kalhaṇa admits to have consulted the previous works such as Suvrata's poem, Kṣemendra's Nṛpāvalī, the Nīlamatapurāṇa, and the chronicles of Helarāja, Padmamihira and Śrī Chavillākara as well as many inscriptions.[5] As a historian, Kalhaṇa is held

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[1] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng.Tr.)., vol. I, Introduction, pp. 7-8.

[2] R.T., IV, 631 sqq., 641 sqq.; V, 16 sq., 46 sqq.; VI, 2 sqq; VIII, 2227 sqq.

[3] Jonarāja, 5.

[4] R.T., VII, 954; VIII, 23654

[5] R.T., I,11-20.

in great esteem for his impartiality and independence, the individuality of his characters, accuracy of geneology, high sense of historical truthfulness and precision of topographical details.[1] Kalhaṇa's work is unique as the only attempt at true history in the whole of surviving Sanskrit literature, for the numerous praśastis of the inscriptions, the biographical kāvyas such as the Harṣacarita and the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, the legends of the epics, and the king-lists of the Purāṇas cannot be considered as history in anything like the modern sense, whatever their value as historical sources.'[2]

The Kashmirian polymath Kṣemendra is a versatile genius and holds a prominent place inthe galaxy of Sanskrit poets. He wrote on a wide range of subjects, giz. didactic poems, treatises on poetics and prosody, narratives, a drama, kāvyas and mahakāvyas, a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir and a lexicon. His 'comprehensive style, his clarity of expression, his power to use satire to the best advantage and his critical insight into literature have earned for him a place among the masters of Indian literary tradition.'[3] Kṣemendra belonged to a well-

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[1]Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, Introduction, pp. 22-41.

[2]A.L.Basham, The Kashmir Chronicle, Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, London, 1961; U.N.Ghoshal, Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XVIII, pp. 198-202.

[3]Sūryakānta, Kṣemendra Studies, p.1.

to-do family. His father Prakāśendra[1] was a devout Śaivite. He is described as very rich and a great patron of the Brāhmaṇas. Kṣemendra studied under many teachers, the notable amongst them were Gaṅgakopādhyāya, Abhinavagupta and Somācārya. He was a Śaiva by birth and maintained devotion for Śiva under the teachings of his Śaiva teacher Abhinavagupta but later in his life he became a Vaiṣṇava under the influence of his teacher Somācārya. In the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Kṣemendra mentions that he received lessons in poetics from Abhinavagupta,[2] whose literary career is placed between A.D.990 and 1020.[3] Kṣemendra's literary activity is assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century.[4]

Most of Kṣemendra's works are lost and are known only by name. His published works include Bhāratamañjarī, Rāmāyaṇamañjarī, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Avadānakalpalatā, Nītikalpataru, Cārucaryā, Deśopadeśa, Narmamālā, Kalāvilāsa, Samayamātṛkā, Darpadalana, Sevyasevkopadeśa, Caturvargasaṁgraha, Aucityavicāracarcā, Kavikaṇṭhabhāraṇa and Daśāvatāracarita. We give here a brief

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[1] Daśāvatāracarita, p.164. Bhāratamañjarī, pp. 849-850.

[2] Vide verse 37 in the concluding portion of Bṛhatkathamañjarī, p.620.

[3] P.V.Kane, History of poetics, p.lxxi.

[4] Sūryakānata, Kṣemendra Studies, p.7.

description of the works we have utilized for our purpose.

The Kalāvilāsa is regarded as the masterpiece of Kṣemendra. It consists of 557 verses and is divided into ten chapters. In this work Kṣemendra 'wields his weapon of satire with lesser coarseness but with greater sense of the comical element'. Mūladeva, the legendary master of tricks, instructs his disciple in the arts of roguery. In the first chapter called Dambhākhyāna various forms of deception and exponents are surveyed. Thesecond deals with the originof greed which generally resides in various trades. In the third the seductive nature of the harlots (veiśya) is exposed, the fourth refers to kāma. The fifth exposes the unscrupulousness of the kāyasthas. The sixth denounces vanity (mada). The seventh hits at the bards, singers, dancers and actors. The eighth exposes the trickery of the goldsmiths (suvarṇakāra) who are 'thiefs and deft swindlers'. The ninth describes many kinds of roguery practised by such quacks as an astrologer, a doctor, vendor of medicines, merchants etc. In the last chapter, Kṣemendra leaves a piece of constructive advice urging the inexperienced and the young to guard themselves.

In the Samayamātṛkā, one of the finest compositions Kṣemendra lays bare the snares and tricks of courtesans. The hetaira-to-be Kalāvatī is introdueed to an old courtesan Kaṅkālī

by a barber. The second samaya gives an account of the rambles of Kaṅkālī in Kashmir, who marries several persons one after another and becomes a widow of all of them. She is described as following many professions and at last becomes a procuress again. This samaya is very significant from the topographical point of view and makes the earliest mention of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass (Pañcāladhara) and its hospice (maṭha). The third samaya depicts incidents that take place in the 'prostituere' in the evening. In the fourth samaya, the bawd meets Kalāvatī and gives her instructions. The fifth mentions different classes of lovers and twenty three tricks by which a lover, having no money, can be got rid of. The sixth provides a beautiful description of all that happens at the prostituere in the morning. The last two samayas describe how Kalāvatī ensnares a merchant's son and cheats his parents.

The Deśopadeśa consists of eight chapters and describes the author's observations on the ignoble customs and notorious characters of the day. The first upadeśa ridicules an unscrupulous and wicked man. The second upadeśa deals with the miserable and dirty habits of a close-fisted miser and his life in general. The third depicts the snares and tricks of a courtesan. The fourth and the fifth ridicule bawds and the vita respectively. In the sixth Kṣemendra depicts with a sharp satire the evil manners

and arrogance of Gauḍa students, studying in Kashmir. In the seventh, the author ridicules the marriage of an old hag with a young damsel. The eighth criticises different classes of society such as the poet, the alchemist, the quack, the scribe, etc.

Kṣemendra's Narmamālā is akin to the Deśopadeśa in plan and theme and is divided into three parihāsas. Kṣemendra's main target is the villainous kāyastha, in a way the whole official machinery is ridiculed. The first chapter gives a mythological origin of the kāyastha who is also called a divira. He is 'pointed to be an unmitigated hypocrite without any redeeming feature, and finds pleasure in ruining temples and making the Brāhmaṇas go on hunger strikes'. His wholly unbearable behaviour as an official is described. Then the author goes on to describe the depraved private life of a typical kāyastha, his lascivious wife and adds his criticism on quack physicians, ignorant astrologers, Buddhist nun acting as a procuress, the barber surgeon and Śaivaguru. Winding up, Kṣemendra refers to the tragic end of the hypocrite kāyastha, who after his arrest, is jailed, released again and later after his property being confiscated, he dies a sad death.

Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita is an abstract of the stories of Viṣṇu's incarnation viz. Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana,

Parśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya, and as the subject matter is taken from the Puranic stories, it is not considered an independent composition. The work has great importance in so far as it contains the earliest reference to the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is said to have been finished in A.D. 1066 on the Tripureśa mountain.

Darpadalana, a satirical and didactical poem, consists of 596 verses and is divided into seven chapters called vicāras. The first chapter refers to seven causes of pride, viz., high birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, munificence and austerities. Then the author deals with them separately in succeeding chapters.

The kavikaṇṭhabhāraṇa is a short but excellent guide in literary training to the prospective poet. It is divided into five chapters and deals with the subjects of kavitvaprāpti, śiksa, camatkṛti, guṇadoṣabodha, and paricayaprāpti.

There is little doubt about the authorship of a curious glossary and manual which goes by the name of Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa. Professor A.Weber does not ascribe its authorship to Kṣemendra. But both Bühler and Aurel Stein think that its author is none but our well-known Kṣemendra. Bühler writes: 'This work gives a great amount of information on the daily life of the Hindus which elsewhere we seek in vain. He gives forms of huṇḍis or letters of exchange, bonds, and the like, the titles of most

of the Kashmirian officials,in some cases with explanations, a list of the paraganas into which Kashmir was divided. The importance of such information cannot be over-rated, as all the Kośakāras live too high in the clouds of the Śāstras and poetry to care about such trivial matters as the geography...'[1] Aurel Stein remarks: 'The work represents a strange mixture of the usual Kośa and a practical hanbook dealing with various topics of administration and private life in Kaśmīr. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old, and probably from the hand of our well-known Kṣemendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. This is exactly what we must expect in a work which had remained in the practical use of the Kaśmīrian 'Kārkuns' long after the time when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language of the country.'

In the Aucityavicāracarcā, a treatise on literary criticism, Kṣemendra propounds that aucitya or Propriety is the soul of poetry which should be observed in twenty-eight places such as pada, guna, rasa, rīti, vacana etc. etc. The Suvṛttatilaka is a fine work on metrics and deals with some important aspects of prosody. The Bauddhāvadānakalpalatā is a collection of Jātaka

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[1] R.T.(Eng.Tr.), vol. II, p.376.

stories. It illustrates the six perfections of the Bodhisattva, viz., charity, moral character, patience, diligence, contemplation and wisdom.

Somadeva, a later contemporary of Kṣemendra, composed his Kathasaritsāgara for the amusement of Ananta's queen Sūryamatī, the mother of Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089).

Bilhana has left a useful information about his native land in the last canto of his historical poem Vikramāṅkadevacarita. He left Kashmir early in the reign of king Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089), in quest of patronage and after long wanderings and visiting places like Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga and Vārāṇasī, became court poet of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. In the last canto Bilhaṇa traces his descent to a learned Madhyadeśi Brāhmaṇa family which had migrated to Kashmir early on. He was born at Khonamuṣa, near Pravarapura. Bilhaṇa pays a glowing tribute to the learning and scholarship of his father Jyeṣthakalaśa and his mother's name was Nāgadevī.

Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, composed his work Śrīkaṇṭhacarita some time between the years A.D. 1135-1145. In the third canto he gives an account of Pravarapura and other sites which is quite useful for our purpose. We learn that his father's name was Viśvavrata. He and his three brothers Śṛṅgāra, Bhaṅga and Alaṁkāra held official posts under king Jayasiṁha.

The last canto is important as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars and poets who assembled at an assemblage held at the house of Alaṁkara to mark the completion of the work.

The later Sanskrit Chronicles of Kashmirian poets are very helpful to corroborate and supplement the material that we glean from the Chronicles of our period. These Chronicles composed with the object of continuing Kalhaṇa's work are: the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja who continued the account down to the times of Sultān Zainu-l-ābidin (A.D. 1420-1470) and died in the middle of his work, A.D. 1459; the Jaina-Rājataraṅgiṇī written by Śrīvara, the pupil of Jonarāja, which covers in four books the period A.D. 1459-1486; and the Fourth Chronicle which was begun by Prājyabhaṭṭa under the name Rājāvalipatākā and completed by his pupil Śuka some time after the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar, A.D. 1586. Besides, we have utilized for our purpose some material from the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of Mirza Muḥammad Haider Dughlat of Kashger who conquered the Valley in A.D.1540 and ruled it till A.D. 1551 under the name of Humayun, and the Āīn-i-Akbarī of Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar. The account of Abul Fazl is helpful to our cause as it refers to numerous shrines dedicated to the various deities and describes in detail many of the Kashmirian Tīrthas. Of the importance of Abul Fazl's

account Aurel Stein remarks: 'It serves as a most useful link between our older texts regarding these pilgrimage places and the modern tradition. It helps us to check the data of the Māhātmyas in many particulars of topographical interest. Abū-l-Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient Tīrthas or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotten. It cannot be doubted that Abū-l-Fazl's list of sacred sites was supplied by competent Brahman informants just as his abstract of the Sanskrit Chronicles.'[1]

Different social ideas and institutions, which persisted even after our period for which we have consulted later Kashmirian Chronicles, existed even before the period under study. Taking this in view we have supplemented our material by a study of the earlier taraṅgas of the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya of Dāmodaragupta, the court poet of Jayapīḍa. Though it concerns courtesans, the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya (8th century A.D.), has very interesting references to a typical petty officer's life and throws ample light on the contemporary social life.

We have derived very useful information from the Nīlamata-purāṇa. The Purāṇa which was used by Kalhaṇa as one of his important sources ofinformation,[2] give the sacred legends regarding

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[1] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. II, p.383.

[2] R.T., I,14.

the origin of the country of Kashmir, special ordinances which Nīlanāga, the lord of Kashmir Nāgas, revealed for the worship as also certain rites to be observed in it. The Nīlamatapurāṇa provides a mine of information in the preparation of the chapters 'Festivals' and 'Tīrthas and Religious Foundations'. After recording the legends on the origin of the country, it gives a list of the principal Nāgas of Kashmir, followed by an interesting legend regarding the Mahāpadma lake (Vŏlur). There are enumerated miscellaneous Tīrthas mainly connected with Śiva worship. Then follows a lengthy description of the legends connected with numerous Tīrthas on Mount Haramukuṭa sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī. Next we read an account of Viṣṇu-Tīrthas which is comparatively short. After a list of sacred Saṁgamas and Nāgas, we find a detailed synopsis of the chief Tīrthas of Kashmir. The description of Vitastā, the holiest of Kashmir rivers, closes the text of the Nīlamatapurāṇa. Winternitz opines that the Nīlamatapurāṇa is many centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī.[1] Bühler thinks that it could not be older than the sixth or seventh century A.D.[2] On this question Aurel Stein remarks: 'It appears to me by no means improbable that the text has undergone changes and possibly additions at later periods. On the whole, however, the local names found in it bear

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[1] History of Sanskrit Literature, vol. I, p.583.

[2] Report, pp. 37 ff.

ancient look, and agree closely with the forms used by Kalhaṇa.[1] Reference may be made to the numerous texts known as Māhātmyas concerning important Tīrthas of Kashmir. Aurel Stein shows that these Māhātmyas, though they use older materials, are of late composition or redaction. We could not get our hands to these texts and hence have relied in the case of only very important Tīrthas, on the information given by Aurel Stein.

Among other texts used by us on the most important holy Tīrthas, we may mention the Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha who appears to have lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era. This work consists of thirty-two cantos and relates legends connected with Śiva and his avatāras. Some of these legends are localized at well-known Kashmirian Tīrthas and provide the author an opportunity to make mention of sacred sites. The Haracaritacintāmaṇi is very useful for the interpretation of brief notices recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Nīlamatapurāṇa.

In certain cases, we have tried to compare the conditions existing in Kashmir with those of other parts of India and for this purpose we have made use of Dharmasūtras, Smṛtis, Smṛti Commentaries, and such digests as Yuktikalpataru, Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra and Rājamārtaṇḍa of Bhoja (eleventh century), Niyatakālakāṇḍa and Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (twelfth century), Kālaviveka and Dāyabhāga of Jīmutavāhana (twelfth

century), Deśīnāmamālā, Dvyaśraya and Tṛṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita of Hemacandra (twelfth century), Dānasāgara of Vallālasena (twelfth century), Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri (thirteenth century) and Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara (fourteenth century). Incidental references have been drawn from the Vedic and Epics literature and from Kautilya's Arthaśāstra. We have used the Sukranītisara, a nineteenth century text[1] in a few cases.

Of the foreign accounts we have made use of for our study, we may mention those of Hiuen Tsang, Ou K'ong, Alberuni and Marco Polo.

The archaeological material at our disposal is very meagre. We are unfortunate not to have found many inscriptions from the Valley and among those that survive are included a Brāhmī inscription from Harwan of about the fourth century A.D., a fragmentary inscription from the Martaṇḍa temple, two inscriptions of queen Diddā, and a Śāradā inscription from Arigom dated A.D.1197. These are of very little use for our study. Coins from the Valley help us considerably to form a general idea about the socio-economic conditions of ancient Kashmir and confirm the succession of rulers from Śaṁkaravarman onwards as given in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Archaeological findings from such sites as Harwan, Huṣkapura, Pandrethaṇ, and Avantipura form a good collection for our subject.

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[1] B.S.O.A.S., XXV, part 3.

Chapter II

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The material at our disposal does not allow us to draw a clear picture of various people inhabiting Kashmir in ancient times. The Nīlamatapurāṇa and the works of Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa, while recording the honourable position in which the Brāhmaṇas were held, do not say anything tangible about other castes. But still the more scattered references in the literature reveal that the population of Kashmir in the period under review comprised numerous classes and castes. Of these, besides the Brāhmaṇas who are treated at length, the Kashmirian texts occasionally mention the Caṇḍālas, Ḍombas, Niṣādas, Kaivartas, Śvapākas and Kirātas. There are few references[1] to the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The kings of the Lohara dynasty are described as Kṣatriyas. The Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to the kings as guardians and producers of the happiness of the castes (varṇa).[2] The mention of sixty-four[3] castes by Kalhaṇa leaves the impression that with the passage of time

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[1] R.T., V, 77; VII, 207, 661, 663, 1655; VIII, 3031, 3063-3069, 3077, 3230. Nīlamatapurāṇa, 924.

[2] R.T., II, 13; III, 85; IV, 111.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2407. Kullūka on Manu, X, 31.

there had occurred a multiplication of the traditional castes into numerous sub-castes. According to Brihaddharmapurāṇa,[1] the number of mixed castes having the status of Śūdras was forty one; whereas the early Muslim writers like Ibn Khurdadba[2] and Al Idrisi,[3] record the number of castes as seven, Alberuni[4] maintains that there were sixteen castes.

We gather from the account of Kalhaṇa, that the caste system in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India in this period, was not rigid. The departure from their traditional profession on the part of all the castes is visible, as in other parts of India, even much before the period under review. There was no binding of any kind on the different castes, not to go beyond their theoretical professions. Thus, for example, the Brāhmaṇas in Kashmir did not confine themselves to studying, teaching and to the execution of priestly functions only, but we find them working as ministers, councillors, performing military functions, as landowners, traders and feudatory chiefs (Sāmantas).

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[1] Brihaddharmapurāṇa, II, 13-14.

[2] Elliot, H.M., History of India as told by its own Historians, vol. II, pp. 16-17.

[3] Ibid., p.76.

[4] Sachau, vol. I, p.101 ff.

Atri (verses 373-383) records Kṣatra Brāhmaṇa, living by military functions, the Vaiśya Brāhmaṇa, engaging himself in agriculture and trade, the Śūdra Brāhmaṇa, who lives by selling salt, milk, lac, honey, ghee, meat and some particular dyes, and Niṣāda Brāhmaṇa, living as thief and robber. The flexibility in the caste system in Kashmir is further noticed in Kalhaṇa's recording of one Haldhara, sonof Bhūti, a vaiśya, obtaining the prime-ministership (Sarvādhikāritā), a low kāyastha Bhadreśvara in charge of the Gṛhakṛtya office, a barber Kṣema working in revenue department, Ḍombas as ministers under king Cakravarman (A.D. 936-937) and the Caṇḍālas serving as soldiers and body-guards. Such deviations from their theoretical professions, which have been permitted by the law books in times of emergency, became, with the passage of time, the regular functions of different castes. Discussing the point in the Brahmaṇa literature U.N.Ghoshal[1] writes: 'Above all the primary law of self-preservation was held in such great respect in the Brahminical Canon that individuals and classes were permitted for the sake of livelihood to assume in times of difficulty abnormal functions which were aptly designated as emergency duties (apaddharma).

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[1] U.N.Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories, p.6.

It is seen that even the kingship in Kashmir was not the monopoly of the Kṣatriyas. The Karkoṭa dynasty was of tribal origin. Avantivarman, the founder of the Utpala dynasty, belonged to the family of spirit-distillers. Parvagupta belonged to the family of diviras. The Lohara kings belonged to the Kṣatriya caste.

Regarding the mutual relations of different castes in Kashmir, the joint authority of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas over the rest is quite obvious. And as regards the position of the higher castes we may easily contend that the Brāhmaṇas definitely held a position of superiority over the Kṣatriya population. 'As regards the relative superiority of these classes,' writes U.N.Ghoshal,[1] 'the dogma of the origin of society involves, as we have seen, the Brāhmaṇa's precedence over all the other classes by virtue of the will of the Creator.'

As in other parts of India, in Kashmir also, the prevalence of a touch of segregation in the society is attested to by the chronicle of Kalhaṇa. Consequently, as time rolled on, a large number of workers engaged in most beneficial services for society came to be regarded as unclean. In a passage of Medhātithi[2] which enjoins the dead bodies of Śūdras, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas and

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[1] Ibid., p.48.

[2] On Manu, V, 91.

Brāhmaṇas to be carried out of the city by the south, west, north and east gates respectively, the old spirit of caste segregation is reflected. P.V.Kane observes: 'The ancient Hindus had a horror of uncleanliness and they desired to segregate those who followed unclean professions like those of sweepers, workers in hide, tanners, guardians of cemetries etc. This segregation cannot be said to have been quite unjustifiable.'[1] The Rājataraṅgiṇī furnishes us with a very clear and vivid picture of the existence of untouchability in the Valley. His narration of the three stories[2] makes it crystal clear that the Caṇḍālas, Ḍombas, and the leather tanners were considered as untouchable. Of course, in exceptional cases as noted above, the members of a Ḍomba family served as ministers and a Caṇḍāla fought as a soldier, but we should not forget that Kalhaṇa makes a stinging attack on such appointments and looks with contempt at their conduct. In the absence of further evidence we are at a loss to know if the rest of the low-caste people as listed in the account of Alberuni[3] as untouchable were regarded so in Kashmir also. Aparārka[4] while quoting the

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[1] P.V.Kane, H.D.S, II, ch. IV, p.170.

[2] R.T. I Vyo 62 sqq; V, 77 sqq; 354.

[3] Sachau, vol. I, p.101ff.

[4] Aparārka, pp. 1177-79.

Brahmapurāṇa shows thatone should not accept food from the members of the following professions: an actor, a singer, a surgeon, a physician, a goldsmith, a blacksmith, a vendor of weapons, a washerman, a tailor, a distiller or seller of liquors, an oil presser, a bard, a carpenter, an astrologer, one who rings bells, a village officer, worker in hides, a potter, a wrestler, a worker in bamboo, an indigenous banker, and one who serves as priest to the whole village. The list is too inexhaustible and does not appear to have been applicable in its entirety in Kashmir.

Countless passages in the Rājataraṅgiṇī quite obviously reveal the privileged and honoured position enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas in the social hierarchy. They constituted a unique and distinct class, superior to all the others. Kalhaṇa sets very lofty ideals to the Brāhmaṇas. Thus he requires them to be well-versed in scriptures, honest and faithful. He is all praise for the honest[1] and learned[2] Brāhmaṇas and looks with hatred and contempt towards the dishonest, deceitful and cunning Brāhmaṇas, calling them silly[3] and wretched.[4] Lakṣmīdhara, the Gāhaḍavāla, in his Dānakāṇḍa[5] prescribes equally high requirements for an ideal Brāhmaṇa donee. He should be zealously loyal to the vedic

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[1] R.T., VII, 204-205.

[2] R.T., VII, 184.

[3] R.T., VII, 295-297.

[4] R.T., VII, 1611.

[5] Kṛtyakalpataru, Dānakāṇḍa, pp. 26-30 quoting Yama, Yājñavalkya,

studies, chaste, truthful, serene, greedless, afraid of sin, practise ahimsa, love the cow, keep burning the sacred fires and conscientiously observe the religious vows. Kalhaṇa's liking for an ideal and sober Brāhmaṇa can be well-judged by his reference to one Keśava, an honest Brāhmaṇa from Trigarta, when he remarks that by becoming minister of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) he threw lustre on the king, just as the moon throws her light on a stuccoed terrace.[1] There could be found many ideal and simple Brāhmaṇas like Keśava in the Valley. But Kalhaṇa does not fail to cite, rather grudgingly, the examples of crafty and depraved Brāhmaṇas inhabiting the valley of Kashmir. Pārtha, the City prefect (nagarādhikṛta) under king Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D.1101-1128), was known to keep up intrigues with his brother's wife. Moreover, he 'whose mind was entirely devoid of merit, committed slaughter and other sins on the holy platform of (the Liṅga of Śiva) Pravareśa'.[2] King Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089) fell into the company of two depraved and licentious Brāhmaṇas who coloured the king in their vile habits. The Brāhmaṇa Pramadakaṇṭha, who was a teacher of king

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Vasiṣṭha, Mahābhārata and Śātātapa.

[1] R.T., VII, 204-205.

[2] R.T., VII, 108-109.

Kalaśa, instructed him 'in wicked practices and made him ignore the distinction between those /women/ who are approachable and those who are not'. Moreover this Brāhmaṇa 'without fear, lived in incest even with his own daughter'.[1] And the other Brāhmaṇa Loṣṭaka by name, became dear to the king as 'guru, procurer and astrologer'.[2] The Kathāsaritsāgara[3] also gives references to such evilly-disposed Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas were the most powerful and most respected members of the society.[4] Kalhaṇa remarks that 'beyond conception is the power which austerities gain for those mighty Brāhmaṇas who are capable of reversing the fortunes of great rulers. One has seen the royal heir and others, restored again; but when once lost in consequence of disrespect shown to Brāhmaṇas it neverreturns'.[5] Such was the power of the Brāhmaṇas that on a certain occasion, having been refused food by king Dāmodara II, they turned him, in their anger, into a snake (sarpa).[6] They are described as the gods of the earth (bhudeva)[7]

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[1] R.T., VII, 277-278.

[2] R.T., VII, 295-297.

[3] Kathāsaritsāgara (Tr. Tawney), vol. I, p.241, 306; Vol. II, p.202.

[4] R.T., I, 160-165; IV, 122; V, 144-115; VIII, 2238.

[5] R.T., I, 160-161.

[6] R.T., I, 162-165.

[7] R.T., VIII, 2238.

who could cause the power of the gods to be present through their spells.[1] At another place Kalhaṇa writes that 'no one until all his merits /from a former existence/ have been exhausted, enters upon an obstinate course against the Brāhmaṇas before whom the destructive arts of the wicked break down'.[2] On account of the merit which kilg Lalitāditya had attained by giving loaf and water to a starving Brāhmaṇa, sweet streams appeared at his feet at his mere wish, even on desert tracks.[3] King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948), in his desire to secure the royal dignity also for his future birth, bestowed the royal insignia upon a Brāhmaṇa.[4] But some wicked kings meted out punishment to the Brāhmaṇas.[5] Lakṣmīdhara, the Gāhaḍavāla minister of king Govindacandra (C.1114-1154 A.D.), eulogises a Brāhmaṇa by quoting Yama that 'to be born a Brāhmaṇa is deemed a piece ofrare fortune, the result of good deeds in a past life'.[6]

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[1] R.T., IV, 122.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2239.

[3] R.T., IV, 228-233.

[4] R.T., VI, 85.

[5] R.T., IV, 122; IV, 631-633, 638-656; VI, 3-4.

[6] Gṛhasthakāṇḍa, p.415.

U.N.Ghoshal writes that 'the Brāhmaṇas indeed occupy from the first a very important place in the society and the state. In the Brāhmanical Canon not only are the person and property of the priestly order protected by the severest penalities but they are armed with a formidable array of immunities which included the exemption from taxation as well as from capital punishment'.[1]

As elsewhere in India, in Kashmir also the Brāhmaṇas seem to have been divided into groups according to the areas where they lived and come from and their vocatinns. Kalhaṇa[2] informs us about the migration of Brāhmaṇas from Kaṅyakubja, Rauhitalaṇḍ, Indus region and other places into Kashmir at different periods, and they appear to have kept a separate identity of their own. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita,[3] traces his ancestry from the Kauśika family of Madhyadeśa and informs us that there resided in his native village, Khonamuṣa, many families of Kauśika Brāhmaṇas who were zealously devoted to the Vedas, Śāstras and the observance of sacrifices. The ancestors of Abhinanda, the author of Kadambrikthasāra, were immigrants from Gauḍa. Also the Brāhmaṇas

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[1] U.N.Ghoshal, Hindu Political Theories, p.14.

[2] R.T., I, 116,307, 341-343.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 71-86.

were graded according to their occupation. Those who were well-versed in scriptures and held responsible ministerial posts occupied a more honourable position in the society than the ordinary Brāhmaṇas of the priestly class. Devala[1] gives the following classification of the Brāhmaṇas in accordance with the degree of the knowledge of the vedas, viz. mātra (one who is born in a Brāhmaṇa family only, but has neither read the vedas nor operated the work of a Brāhmaṇa), Brāhmaṇa (who has read a part of the veda), śrotriya (who has read only one recension of the veda along with its six aṅgas and accomplished six functions of a Brāhmaṇa), anuchāna (one who is pure at heart, tends sacred fire and is aware of the meanings of the vedas and vedāṅgas), bhrūṇa (who possesses qualities of anuchāna Brāhmaṇa and performs yajñas), ṛṣkalpa (a celibate, who is truthful and leads an austere life, and is able to reward and curse), and muni (who dwells in a forest and lives on fruits, vegetables and roots). There might have been a similar division of the Brāhmaṇas in Kashmir also. Kalhaṇa is concerned about the marriage of Lothika, the daughter of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D.1101-1128), with the superintendent of the Diddāmaṭha, Preman by name, when he remarks: 'How great is the distance between a princess

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[1]P.V.Kane, H.D.S., vol. II, pt. I, pp. 131-132.

fit for a king, who is bent on universal conquest, and a Brāhmaṇa of small mind whose hand is wet with the water of presents'.[1]

Numerous professions were followed by the Brāhmaṇas in the period under review. These members of the sacerdotal class could be found in almost all walks of life. Kṛṣṇadeva Raya offers some interesting reasoning as to why a Brāhmaṇa should be appointed to important positions in the state when he records thus: 'Because a Brāhmaṇa would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or a Śūdra, it is always advisable for a King to take Brāhmaṇas as his officers.'[2] At another place he observes: 'That King can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brāhmaṇas as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are followers of Dharma, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who make arrangements for storing in those fortresses tiger's cheese /pulijunnu?) and other /rare/ articles to last for a generation;;;;; who increases his treasures by multiplying his income and lessening

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[1] R.T., VII, 10-12.

[2] Āmukta, IV, 217.

expenditure, and by seeing that the people are without trouble ..... who sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies."[1] Of the import of the Brāhmaṇas in Ancient Indian administration, Beni Prasad writes: "The Brāhmaṇas were, socially and religiously, too important and intellecturally, too powerful, to be left out of political counsels. Brāhmaṇa priests or ministers were often by the side of the King. Legal difficulties were often submitted to Brāhmaṇa parisads or committees for solution. Attempts were made to enlist the moral support of the Brāhmaṇas for the government. Law, which is an expression of the social spirit, reflected caste at numerous points in ancient India.'[2]

A section of the Brāhmaṇa community in Kashmir appears to have its sustenance by performing religious rites, serving as priests and by imparting knowledge of the sacred texts. In addition to the sacrificial fees, donations were very frequently granted to the Brāhmaṇas. The Skandapurāṇa,[3] developing a line of thought in Manu,[4] observes that he who makes a gift in a

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[1] Ibid., IV, 261.

[2] Beni Prasad, State in Ancient India, p.12.

[3] Quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya, I, 224.

[4] III, 149.

straightforward fashion, without scrutiny /into the qualities of the Brāhmaṇa donne/, satisfies the manes as well as the gods. The Nīlamatapurāṇa also requires the donor to make gifts to Brāhmaṇas during almost any religious ceremony in order to acquire religious merit. The Rājataraṅgiṇī[1] is full of references to agrahāras as being donated by the kings to an individual Brāhmaṇa, and to religious institutions even before the period under review. By the term agrahāra Kalhaṇa seems to designate a village or piece of land, the revenue from which is assigned to a Brāhmaṇa or to a corporation or religious institution. The custom of granting agrahāras which was enunciated by the Hindu rulers continued in Kashmir in the succeeding period.

Śūravarman, the brother of king Avantivarman (A.D.855/6-883) from a different mother, granted a number of agrahāras.[2] In the time of king Cakravarman (A.D. 936-937) one Ḍomba, Raṅga by name, enjoyed the agrahāra of Helu.[3] The Brāhmaṇas accepted agrahāras from the king Utmattavanti (A.D. 937-939).[4] King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) granted to Brāhmaṇas fifty-five agrahāras, furnished with various implements, on the bank of the Vitastā.[5]

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[1] R.T., I, 87, 88, 90, 96, 98, 100, 121, 175, 307, 311, 314, 340, 341, 343; II, 55; III, 376, 481; IV, 9, 639.

[2] R.T., V, 23-24.

[3] R.T., V, 397.

[4] R.T., V, 442.

[5] R.T, VI, 89.

At the glorious temple of Vijayeśvara, Sūryamatī the queen of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063), bestowed as a gift of great merit, one hundred and eight agrahāras on learned Brāhmaṇas.[1] Also during the rule of the second Lohara dynasty agrahāras were granted.[2] Not only the kings but some of the ministers too, granted agrahāras.[3] But Kalhaṇa, like Manu, does not like the Brāhmaṇas to accept agrahāras from wicked kings.[4]

In addition to the agrahāras the Brāhmaṇas in the Valley also received different kinds of gifts. For example, on the consecration of the temple of Sadaśiva, Sūryamatī the queen of Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) made many Brāhmaṇas rich by giving away cows, gold, horses, jewels and other presents.[5] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), profusely provided Brāhmaṇas with skins of black antelopes, cows with calves and other presents.[6] The Brāhmaṇas and gurus also received due regard and presents from king Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149)[7] and his pure-minded minister Ḥilhaṇa.[8]

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[1] R.T., VII, 184.

[2] R.T., VIII, 898, 899, 908, 2408, 2419, 2420, 3355.

[3] R.T., IV, 9.

[4] R.T., V, 403, 442. cf. Manu, X, 76.

[5] R.T., VII, 181.

[6] R.T., VII, 955.

[7] R.T., VIII, 2376-2380.

The Brāhmaṇa purohitas also enjoyed the revenue of the villages attached to the temples.[1] We learn from Kṣemendra that to supplement their income the Brāhmaṇas on certain occasions resold to the public the sweets which were offered to the deity of the temple.[2] This is corroborated by the account of Kalhaṇa, which informs us that at times the priests shared the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandal-wood and other articles of worship.[3]

As in other parts of India, in Kashmir also, the Brāhmaṇas did not fail to adopt the military career. The Valley produced some notable and distinguished Brāhmaṇa warriors and feudal chiefs (sāmantas). Citing the instances of Kripa and Drona of the Mahābhārata we can say that the profession of arms was adopted by the Brāhmaṇas since early times. Gautama[4] and Manu[5] are in favour of the Brāhmaṇas taking up arms in times of difficulty, as also for their protection, to save cows or prevent the admixture of varṇas.[6] Kautilya[7] avers that the

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[1] R.T., II, 132; V, 48-52, 170.

[2] Samayamātṛkā, II, 77.

[3] R.T., V, 168.

[4] Gautama, VII, 6, 25.

[5] Manu, VIII, 348-349.

[6] Cf. Arthaśāstra, IX, 2.

[7] Arthaśāstra, XI, 2.

army of Kṣatriyas trained in the art of wielding weapons or the army of Vaiśyas or Śūdras having great numerical strength is better than a Brāhmaṇa army. With regard to the hereditary army, Kāmandaka[1] holds that it should consist mainly, though not exclusively of the Kṣatriyas. Although the profession of arms was open to all castes, but according to the Matsya and Agni Purāṇas,[2] the commander-in-chief must either be a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya. The Sukranītisāra[3] states that caste is not the sure test of the quality and bravery of soldiers, whether they are Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, Mlechchhas or of mixed castes, they must be disciplined, brave, well-built, having devotion towards their master and Dharma and a feeling of hatred towards the enemy. Sukranītisāra is also against the appointment of a Śūdra as commander-in-chief. He gives the first preference to a brave Kṣatriya as a commander-in-chief, and in case of nonavailability, a Brāhmaṇa may be so appointed.[4]

It is noteworthy that while sketching the picture of the peaceful reign of king Yaśaskara (A.D.939-948), Kalhaṇa happily

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[1] Kāmandaka, IV, 63, 65, 67.

[2] Matsyapurāṇa, 215.10. Agnipurāṇa, 220.1.

[3] Sukranītsāra, II, 137-139.

[4] Ibid., II, 429-430.

records that the Brāhmaṇas were solely devoted to their studies and did not carry arms. It follows from this passage that Kalhaṇa wants the Brāhmaṇas to be devoted to their studies in times of peace and like Manu and Gautama, allows them to take up arms in self-defence in times of emergency. We find many Brāhmaṇas taking up arms during the turbulent times of the Lohara dynasty. In the reign of king Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028) Kalhaṇa records that Bhujaṁga, the son of a Brāhmaṇa feudal chief (sāmanta), gave a tough time to the king.[1] Caṇpaka, the father of Kalhaṇa, held the post of dvārapati, under king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).[2] He remained loyal and faithful to the king to the last. Two Brāhmaṇas, Rayyāvaṭṭa and Vijaya, distinguished themselves as soldiers.[3] The Brāhmaṇa Ajjaka, who was king Salhaṇa's (A.D.1111-1112) minister, died heroically in a battle against Sussala.[4] One Brāhmaṇa Tukka, a chief man in the force of Sussala, was killed while fighting against Bhikṣu, Pṛthvīhara and others.[5] Kalhaṇa is all praise for Brāhmaṇa Kāyāṇarāja, who was well-versed in military exercises and

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[1] R.T., VII, 91.

[2] R.T., VII, 1177.

[3] R.T., VII, 1480.

[4] R.T., VIII, 472.

[5] R.T., VIII, 1013.

who despite cowardice on the part of the force of Sussala, gave up his life fighting with his face to the enemy.[1] Kalhaṇa also records the bravery of two Brāhmaṇas, Lavarāja and Yasorāja who were killed while fighting the assassins of king Sussala.[2]

The Brāhmaṇas also took part in various offices in the government of the country. Though holding also common official posts, the Brāhmaṇas often served as ministers and councillors (āsthānadvija, āsthānabhaṭṭa, adhikaraṇadvija) of the king. Manu[3] lays down that the ministry and the judiciary should be represented, as a rule, by the Brāhmaṇas. According to the Mahābhārata, the Privy Council of the king should comprise four Brāhmaṇas, eight Kṣatriyas, twenty one Vaiśyas and three Śūdras.[4] According to Śukra[5] the caste should not be considered at the time of making ministerial appointments, it should only be enquired into on the occasion of marriage and dinner. In accordance with the recommendation of Somadeva,

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1071.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1345.

[3] Manu, VII, 37, 58; VIII, 20.

[4] Mahābhārata, XII, 85.7-8.

[5] Śukranītisāra, II, 545.

the ministry should be represented by all the three regenerate castes.[1] Thus king Lalitāditya-Muktapīḍa had Mitrasarman as minister of foreign affairs (Saṁdhivigrāhika).[2] Devasarman, the son of Mitrasarman, served king Jayapīḍa as a minister.[3] King Jayāpīḍa's chief councillor was the Kavi Dāmodaragupta, the illustrious author of the poem Kuṭṭanīmata.[4] One Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa, who was the councillor of king Yaśaskara (A.D.939-948) later became a minister of king Kṣemagupta (A.D.950-958). The same official also served under queen Diddā.[5] King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028) had also Brāhmaṇas as his councillors who, for the welfare of the country, made the Brāhmaṇasand the purohitas of sacred shrines (pāriṣadya), start a solemn fast (prāya) at Parihāsapura.[6] Later, for the same cause, seven Brāhmaṇa sons of Śridhara, who were councillors, fought against Tuṅga.[7] Kalhaṇa also records one Keśava, an

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[1] Nitivākyāmṛita, p.55.

[2] R.T., IV, 137.

[3] R.T., IV, 469.

[4] R.T., IV, 496.

[5] R.T., VI, 168, 194, 284.

[6] R.T., VII, 13.

[7] R.T., VII, 22.

an honest Brāhmaṇa from Trigarta, among the ministers of king Ananta (A.D.1028-1063).[1] Brāhmaṇa Śivaratha was an official (Kāyastha) in the time of king Jayasiṁha.[2] Alaṁkara, the brother of Maṅkha, the author of the Śrīkaṇṭha-carita, was the superintendent of the great treasury (bṛhadgañja) under king Jayasiṁha.[3] He later, under the same king, held the position of the Chief-justice (Rājasthāniya, Rājagṛhya).[4] Maṅkha himself served king Jayasiṁha (1128-1149) in the capacity of the minister of foreign affairs (Saṁdhivigrāhika).[5]

During the period under survey, many Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir had become landowners as a consequence of the granting of agra-hāras to them by the kings. Occasionally, nobles and landlords also obtained merit by donating land to Brāhmaṇas. A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that the Brāhmaṇas gradually became more and more dependent on land which led to the emergence of a petty Brāhmaṇa landlord class. And it is not unlikely that some of the rich Brāhmaṇa agriculturists turned into in-

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[1] R.T., VII, 204-205.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2383.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2423-27.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2618-2671.

[5] R.T., VIII, 3354.

influential traders. Whereas the Vedic literature allows agriculture to the Brāhmaṇas, the Dharmaśāstras contain conflicting views on the subject. Baudhāyana holds that 'the study of Veda tends to the destruction of agriculture and /devotion to/ agriculture tends to the loss /of the study/ of the Veda. One who has the capacity /to look after both/ may resort to both, but he who is unable /to look after both/ should give up agriculture'.[1] Manu avers that 'a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaiśya /owing to a difficulty of maintenance otherwise/ should by all means avoid agriculture which is full of injury to sentient beings and dependent on others /labourers, oxen etc./. Some regard agriculture as a good mode of livelihood but it is condemned by the good, /as/ wood having an iron tip /i.e. the plough/ strikes the earth and /the insects and germs/ imbedded in the earth.'[2] Parāśara while allowing a Brāhmaṇa to take to agriculture lays down the following condition: 'The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make

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[1] Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, I, 5.101.

[2] Manu, X, 83-84.

the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five mahayajñas and other sacrifices with corn raised by himself engaging in agriculture, the sin of ploughing the earth for a day with an iron-tipped plough-share is equal to that incurred by a fisherman fishing for a year; he should give one sixth of the corn to the King, offer one twenty one to gods and one thirtieth to Brāhmaṇas and then he may not be smeared with sin.'[1] Vṛddha-Hārīta[2] considers agriculture common to all varṇas and does not forbid agriculture and rearing of cattle to any. Lakṣmīdhara, quoting Devāla, shows that the agriculturalprofession was open to the Brāhmaṇas on certain conditions. If a Brāhmaṇa is kind to the oxen by neither unreasonably loading nor castrating them, feeding them at the proper time he might utilise their services in ploughing and harvesting. Furthermore it is no sin to till the soil if the Brāhmaṇa landowner pays one-sixth of the produce of the land as tax to the king, one-twentieth to the Gods and one-thirtieth to the Brāhmaṇas.[3] The Śukranītisāra, though of later

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[1] Parāśara, II, 2-4, 7, 14.

[2] Vṛddha-Hārīta, VII, 179, 182.

[3] Gṛhasthakāṇḍa, p.194.-195. Cf. Gṛhastharathākara of Caṇḍeśvara, pp. 430-431.

age, also recognises the practice of the Brāhmaṇas of tilling the lands.[1] Similarly the Brāhmaṇas were permitted to maintain themselves by trade in the time of necessity. Gautama avers that a Brāhmaṇa can maintain himself and his family by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only if he does not engage in these pursuits personally, but through some agent.[2] But the Dharmaśāstras[3] give a long list of articles which the Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to sell. Alberuni also tells the similar tale. He says that the Brāhmaṇas preferred the Vaiśyas to transact business in their name. Nevertheless some Brāhmaṇas tried their fortune in the trade of cloth and betelnut.[4] We have no means to ascertain how far the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir followed these instructions.

We glean from the pages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī that the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed certain immunities and privileges in the valley of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's account makes it quite clear that the Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment. He records[5] the

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[1] Sukranītisāra, IV, 3.19.

[2] Gautama, X, 5-6.

[3] Manu, X, 86-116; Gautama, VII, 8-14; Vasiṣṭha, II, 31; Yājñavalkya, III, 40-42.

[4] Sachau, vol. II, p.132.

[5] R.T., IV, 82-116.

story of a Brāhmaṇa woman, who underwent voluntary starvation (prāyopaveśa) in order to get her grievances redressed. She wanted the king to award death sentence to a Brāhmaṇa whom she suspected of having murdered her husband. During the course of their conversation, king Candrāpīḍa spoke to that woman: 'What shall we judges do to a man whose guilt has not been shown? Not even another person can receive punishment if his guilt is not established: still less a Brāhmaṇa who is exempt from capital punishment although guilty.' When the guilt of that Brāhmaṇa became evident, the judges awarded some punishment which, as he was a Brāhmaṇa, could not be that of death. But Kalhaṇa does not mention what punishment was meted out to that Brāhmaṇa. We learn that the younger brother of king Candrāpīḍa, Tārāpīḍa by name, made use of this enraged guilty Brāhmaṇa to further his cause and consequently this Brāhmaṇa used his witchcraft (abhicāra) against the king. But one is thrilled to know about the forebearance of this king who, on the point of his death, did not destroy this Brāhmaṇa sorcerer (kṛtyādhāyin), saying: 'What sin is there in this poor fellow whom another has instigated?' Kalhaṇa gets an opportunity while recording the events of king Yaśaskara's (A.D. 939-948) reign, to make mention that this king, who was ever ready to exercise control over the castes and

conditions of life among his subjects, punished in accordance with the law a Brāhmaṇa, who had departed from proper conduct, by having the mark of a dog's foot branded on his forehead.[1] It is just possible that king Candrāpīḍa might have given similar punishment to the guilty Brāhmaṇa. It follows that the most severe punishment for a guilty Brāhmaṇa was branding and banishment. Gautama[2] and Manu[3] aver that there is no capital punishment for a Brāhmaṇa. Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra prescribes that a Brāhmaṇa is not supposed to receive any beating for any offence but a Brāhmaṇa guiltyof mortal sins (of Brāhmaṇa-murder, incest, drinking liquor, theft of gold) is liable to punishment of branding on the forehead with a red-hot iron and banishment from the country.[4] The exemption of Brāhmaṇas from the death sentence is mentioned in the Barhaspatya Arthaśāstra[5] and Laghvarhannītiśāstra.[6] Manu,[7] Matsyapurāṇa[8] and Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra[9] prescribe for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of a serious offence,

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[1] R.T., VI, 108-112.

[2] Gautama, XII, 43.

[3] Manu, XI, 99-100.

[4] Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, I, 10.18-19.

[5] Barhaspatya Arthaśāstra, I, 17.

[6] Laghvarhannītiśāstra, I, 1.37.

[7] Manu, IX, 237.

[8] Matsyapurāṇa, 227. 163-164.

[9] Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, V, 4-7.

banishment and branding with distinctive signs instead of the death sentence. Manu[1] at another place lays down heavy fines for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery. Kautilya[2] is also against capital punishment to a guilty Brāhmaṇa but prescribes branding and banishment like other thinkers. The same punishment is laid down for a guilty Brāhmaṇa, particularly for theft, in Yājñavalkya and Nārada smṛti texts.[3] Medhātithi[4] forbids not only corporal punishment, but even a money-fine, to be inflicted upon a guilty Brāhmaṇa. Alberuni records that if a Brāhmaṇa killed a man, the former had only to fast, pray and give alms. And if a Brāhmaṇa stole a valuable object, the king had the right to make him blind and cut off either his left hand and right foot or his right hand and left foot. On the other hand, the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa was the greatest sinner, who perpetrated the most heinous crime.[5] Some passages in the Rājataraṅgiṇī referring to the execution of the Brāhmaṇas, put us in doubt how far the Brāhmaṇas were privileged of not

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[1] Manu, VIII, 378.

[2] Arthaśāstra, IV, 8.

[3] Yājñavalkya, II, 27.

[4] On Manu, VIII, 124.

[5] Sachau, vol. II, p.162.

being killed. But the passage (VII, 1013) refers to one Tukka Brāhmaṇa, a soldier in the army of king Sussala (A.D.1121-1128), being killed by Bhikṣu and his partisans during the course of their attack on Śrīnagar. It is contended that those Brāhmaṇas who had adopted the military career could not have claimed the privilege of not being killed. The Udyoga and Śānti Parvans[1] lay down that one does not incur the sin of Brāhmaṇa-murder if one kills in a battle a Brāhmaṇa who fights like a Kṣatriya. The second passage (VII, 1229) describes the persecution of the Dāmaras in Mādavarājya by Ananda, the govemor under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), who also as Kalhaṇa says, killed those Brāhmaṇas who wore their hair dressed high and were of prominent appearance. It is possible that those Brāhmaṇas might have been supporters of the Dāmaras or might be dressing themselves like Dāmaras. The third passage (VIII, 2060) records that Sujji, once the minister under king Jayasiṁha, killed a Brāhmaṇa, who had spoken harsh words in anger. But it is to be noted that Kalhaṇa considers it as a wicked action, which agitated the minds of the people who in consequence turned against Sujji.[2] It follows that the killing of a Brāhmaṇa was considered

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[1] Udyogaparvan, 178, 51-52. Śāntiparvan, 22, 5-6.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2059-2061.

as a wicked action. Moreover, the surrender of the kings of Kashmir on different occasions to the solemn fasts of the Brāhmaṇas, who threatened to kill themselves if their demands were not met with, shows that the fear of Brahmahatya seems to have been lingering in the minds of the rulers. All this helps us to conclude that the killing of a Brāhmaṇa in Kashmir was considered as an act of wickedness. The killing of a Brāhmaṇa is looked upon as the greatest sin since ancient times. Gautama[1] puts the killer of a Brāhmaṇa at the top of his list of patitas (persons guilty of mortal sins). Manu[2], Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra[3] and Yājñavalkya[4] count Brāhmaṇa-murder in their list of five mahapatakas. At another place Manu avers that there is no worse sin in the world than the Brāhmaṇa-murder.[5] But the ancient thinkers all agree that one does not incur sin if one kills a Brāhmaṇa who is atatayin.

So far as the privilege of non-payment of taxes is concerned it seems unlikely that ordinary Brāhmaṇas enjoyed this

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[1] Gautama, 21.1.

[2] Manu, XI, 54.

[3] Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, 35.1.9.

[4] Yājñavalkya, III, 227.

[5] Manu, VIII, 381.

privilege. Only certain individual learned Brāhmaṇas (Śrotriya) seem to have enjoyed this rare privilege. The Brāhmaṇa landowners who with the lapse of time had become influential traders and money-lenders and those who were holding influential official posts do not seem to have been exempted from taxation. Similarly the temples owning extensive lands were not naturally exempted from taxation. The Brāhmaṇas might be paying somewhat low rates as compared with the rest but their complete exemption is not likely. According to the Mahābhārata, those Brāhmaṇas who are holding influential governmental posts and those who were following the professions of agriculture, trade and cattle-rearing are to be charged usual taxes at their full rates.[1] We have seen how the digests prescribe that the Brāhmaṇa agriculturists must pay one-sixth of their income to the king, in addition to many other obligations. Vasiṣṭa-dharmasūtra[2] and Manu[3] say that a Śrotriya was to be free from taxes. Manu[4] holds that 'by the religious merit which the Śrotriya accumulates

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[1] Mahābhārata, XII, 76.4-7.

[2] Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, 19.23.

[3] Manu, VII, 133.

[4] Manu, VII, 136.

every day when protected by the king, the king's life, wealth and kingdom increase'. Most of the digests contend that the king shares the religious merit of the Śrotriya. U.N.Ghoshal and A.S.Altekar point out that neither the Mahābhārata and Nāradasmṛti nor the South Indian inscriptions of the thirteenth century show that the whole of Brāhmaṇa community, irrespective of their occupation, were exempted from taxation.[1]

A study of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that the Brāhmaṇa Community was not exempt from the forced carriage of loads (Rūḍhabhārodhi) which was introduced as Kalhaṇa informs us, by king Saṁkaravarman (A.D.883-902) and was of thirteen kinds. We notice that king Harṣa (1089-1101) exempted the purohita corporation from the forced carriage of loads as a compensation for his plundering the Bhīmakeśava temple.[2] The kings of Kashmir might have granted such special occasional exemptions to purohita corporations or to learned Brāhmaṇas, but on the whole the Brāhmaṇa community had to do the forced carriage of loads like other sections of society. According to Śāntiparvan, a religious king should get taxes and forced labour from those who are not Śrotriya and who do not kindle the sacred fires.[3]

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[1] U.N.Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System, p.138. A.S.Altekar, State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 268-69.

[2] R.T., VII,1088.

[3] Śāntiparvan, 76.5.

Undoubtedly the Brāhmaṇas in Kashmir held an esteemed positioninsociety. They took part in the coronation ceremony (abhiṣeka) of the king. In some cases, the Brāhmaṇas had influence in the selection or rejection of the king. Thus, we notice that when the Utpala dynasty had come to an end, the Brāhmaṇas nominated the Brāhmaṇa Yaśaskara (A.D.939-948) as king in prefrence to Kamalavardhana.[1] Again during the reign of king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) the Brāhmaṇas of Hiranyapura consecrated Uccala as king.[2] Caṇḍeśvara, the fourteenth century Mithita writer avers that though the king is the final authority he is advised to have consultations first with the ministers and then with the Brāhmaṇas.[3]

The privileged and commanding position enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇas is reflected in the effectiveness of the solemn fasts (prāyopaveśa), which the Brāhmaṇa assemblies from agrahāras as well as temple priests undertook from time to time, and thereby influenced the internal administration. This non-violent form of passive resistance was resorted to when something went or seemed to go against them as well as the interest of their beloved

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[1] R.T., V, 461-477.

[2] R.T., VII, 385.

[3] Rājnītiratnākara, Ch. II, p.10.

country. It was due to the semi-religious belief in the supernatural power of the Brāhmaṇa that their fasts were much dreaded lest they bring some terrible consequences.[1] Curiously enough, Kalhaṇa, notwithstanding his Brāhmaṇa descent, often sympathises with their fasts and expresses his contempt in a sarcastic fashion, particularly when these fasts were undertaken for blackmail at the instigation of ministers and pretenders and when their interests were not directly involved.

The period under review witnessed many such cases of solemn fasts. After the deposition of king Sūravarman II (939 A.D.) the Commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana did not ascend the throne but collected the Brāhmaṇas (presumably as councillors) and canvassed them in his desire for royal power. When they failed to enforce any decision 'there assembled an immense host of purohitas of sacred places /pāriṣadya/, causing a mighty din by their drums, cymbals and other musical instruments, raising glittering flags, ensigns and umbrellas, and carrying seats on load animals'.[2] Ultimately, the choice fell on Yaśakara who was later crowned.[3] During the reign of queen Diddā, the disaffected

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[1] R.T., IV, 532 sqq.: VIII, 2242.

[2] R.T., V, 465-466.

[3] R.T., V, 477.

former ministers who had been ousted by the newly-appointed prime-minister (sarvādhikārin), in their endeavour to raise a rebellion, brought to Kashmir from Lohara prince Vigrahārāja, the son of Diddā's brother, who induced the Brāhmaṇas holding the chief agrahāras to hold a solemn fast (prāyopaveśa) to cause disturbance in the country. The queen won over the Brāhmaṇa leaders by offering them bribes and the fast ended.[1] Immediately after the accession of Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D.1001-1028), the Brāhmaṇa ministers, in an attempt to bring about the fall of Tuṅga, induced the Brāhmaṇas and purohitas of sacred shrines (pārisadya) to start a fast (prāya) at Parihāsapura. 'It was difficult for the king to allay this revolt' writes Kalhaṇa, 'which was caused by the common resolve of the Brahmans and the ministers, as when fire and storm combine [to cause conflagration]'.[2] Kalhaṇa demonstrates the wickedness of these Brāhmaṇas who even after appeasement by the king tried to humiliate the minister by an evil fraud but were driven to their own houses by an evil spirit (kṛtyā) which they had raised according to a story narrated by Kalhaṇa.[3] It was the solemn fast (prāya) of the Brāhmaṇas which

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[1] R.T., VI, 335 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 14.

[3] R.T., VII, 16-20.

brought about a reconciliation between king Ananta and his son Kalaśa.[1] At King Harṣa's (A.D.1089-1101) ransacking the treasuries of the temple of Bhīmakeśava, the members of the local purohita corporation induced the king by a solemn fast to grant them in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (rūdhbhārodhi).[2] When king Sussala was attacked by Bhikṣu with the help of Dāmaras and the enemy had even besieged śrīnagar and had carried out wholesale massacre caused partly, as Kalhaṇa informs, us, as a result of indifference shown by the ministers in battles, the Brāhmaṇas of Rājanavātika held a solemn fast to get the evil ministers punished.[3] Kalhaṇa regretfully remarks: 'Like another hostile army there grew to power by his side a throng composed of office employees, violent purohitas of sacred places (pāriṣadya) and the like. By the manifold mistakes which arose during the endeavour to conciliate them, the country fell into complete confusion, and plundering became excessive.'[4] The king succeeded in getting the fast ended by offering bribes

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[1] R.T., VII, 400-401.

[2] R.T., VII, 1081-1088.

[3] R.T., VIII, 768 sqq.

[4] R.T., VIII, 773-774.

to the chief intriguers. Kalhaṇa does not always like their intervention in the affairs of the state with which they are not conversant and grudgingly writes thus: 'These wretches who had never before seen the king's assembly, and who knew nothing of affairs, used harsh words of various kinds towards the unfortunate king when he tried to appease them.'[1] Bhikṣācara (A.D. 1120-1121) was sensual by nature and the land fell a prey to disturbances caused by the Ḍāmaras and rival ministers. The people were hard pressed and longed for the restoration of Sussala whom they had reviled before. The plundering of the agrahāra of Akṣosuva by Tilaka's people added fuel to the fire, leading the Brāhmaṇas of that place to start a solemn fast against the king. This was followed by mass fasting of the Brāhmaṇas holding agrahāras at Vijayeśvara and Rājnavātika etc. They were further joined by the purohitas of the temples. There was so much agitation and disgust that the citizens and the purohitas were ready, if attacked, to fight the royal troops. Bhikṣācara failed to pacify them.[2] Later Sussala succeeded in winning back the throne. During the reign of king Jayasiṁha also the Brāhmaṇas took part in internal affairs of the state. We are informed that the Brāhmaṇas of Mādavarāja went on fast against the appointment

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[1] R.T., VIII, 775-[illegible], [illegible].

[2] R.T., VIII, 901-908.

of Sujji as commander-in-chief.[1] Also the Brāhmaṇas, in order to preserve their lands, held a solemn fast at Vijayeśvara against the rebellious Ḍāmara Trillaka, who according to Kalhaṇa 'was the gathering place for all robbers (Ḍāmaras), just as the pit is for the owls, consumption for diseases, hell for the demons, and the ocean for the sea-monsters, and who after getting the prefectof the Devasarsa district over to his side had raised a rebellion.' The Brāhmaṇas succeeded in getting the minister Alaṁkara dismissed and were later on induced to give up their fast by the promise that the king will uproot Trillaka.[2]

We also read an instance of self-immolation by the Brāhmaṇas.[3] When the Brāhmaṇas of Avantipura who had fasted against the increase of imposts caused by the minister Citraratha were not attended to, many of them burned themselves in fire. The sufferings of the Brāhmaṇas could not be tolerated by a young Brāhmaṇa Vijayarāja who vowed to kill Citraratha and one day, getting an opportunity, attacked him on the head and later died heroically fighting the royal troops. On his arm

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[1] R.T., VIII, 2076.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2931 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2224 sqq.

was found a leaf bearing the reason for his deeds in these words: 'From Yuga to Yuga I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil-doers, and to restore the sacred law.' The desire which the Brāhmaṇa expressed in his death by this verse writes Kalhaṇa sanctified him.[1]

The Rājaputras (Rajputs) are repeatedly mentioned in the account of Kalhaṇa as representing the defence force and serving as royal guards. They were courageous and served Kashmir with appreciable faithfulness. A passage of the eighth taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[2] ascribes foreign origin to these Rājaputras who could be distinguished from the rest of the population on account of their personal appearance. Except for two particular incidents the Rājaputras are on the whole recorded to have distinguished themselves by their heroism and loyalty in their lord's service. Kalhaṇa, while narrating how king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) was deserted by his followers during his last days, sadly remarks: 'Even those Rājaputras, Anantapāla and the rest, who claim descent from the thirty-six families and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the Sun himself, they too left him step by step,

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[1] R.T., VIII, 2256-2257.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1328.

and their horses disappeared in the dense darkness'.[1] The other occasion when they brought disgrace to their tribe presented itself when they, along with others, ran away abandoning the body of their murdered king Sussala to the assassins.[2] In general they are referred to as chivalrous and loyal. The Rājaputras, together with ministers and feudal chiefs, accompanied Tuṅga when he was despatched to help Śāhi Trilocanapāla when the Śāhi ruler was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni.[3] The last years of the reign of king Harṣa are marked by internal dissensions due to the attempts of Uccala and Sussals to secure the throne. We find the Rājaputras fighting against Sussala when the latter tried to capture Vijayeśvara.[4] The Rājaputra, Kalhaṇa, son of Sahadeva, helped king Sussala in his endeavour to regain the throne from Bhikṣācara, by preceding the king on the march towards Śrīnagar and collecting the Ḍāmaras resident in Kramarājya.[5] And when Sussala during the period of his restoration, was beseiged in Śrīnagar by Pṛthvīhara along with a

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[1] R.T., VII, 1617-1618.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1322 sqq.

[3] R.T., VII, 47-48.

[4] R.T., VII, 1512-1514.

[5] R.T., VIII, 926.

force of Dāmaras, the Rājaputras defended the siege heroically.[1] Immediately after the accession of Jayasiṁha, Bhikṣu tried to dethrone the former and in his bid to secure the throne came in the vicinity of Śrīnagar. The Rājaputras headed by Pañcacandra marched out bravely to battle. They fought so gallantly that they put the army of Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara into disorder.[2] During the latter period of king Jayasiṁha (A.D.1128-1149) the Rājaputras played no mean a part in fighting back the pretenders to the throne.[3] Referring to the valour and prowess of brothers Prajji and Sujji who distinguished themselves by their loyal service to king Jayasiṁha Kalhaṇa admiringly writes: 'Prajji alone of spotless fame safeguarded in this land the honour of the sword and of learning which the wickedness of the times had shaken.'[4] Describing the anecdote of Kalaś'a's misconduct, Kalhaṇa records how he, after being summoned, was slapped on the face by his father king Ananta. This was unbearable for Kalaśa's brave and loyal Rājaputra bodyguard Bijja who, with superhuman courage, boldly said: 'O king,

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1076-1082.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1383 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 1681, 3124.

[4] R.T., VIII, 1150.

though the foremost of the proud men, do you not know that men of honour should never break the great vow of keeping their self-respect? How can I as a Rājaputra, when I have taken my pay and carry arms, abandon my master in these straits while life is in me. You are the father, this your son. At another time, when I am not present, you may do, O king, what is proper.'[1] These Rājaputras had started to enter the country of Kashmir as early as the closing years of the tenth century A.D. and during the following centuries formed a regular kṣatriya Rājput caste in the society.

After the extinction of the Hindu Śāhi dynasty many Śāhis had inhabited the Valley and thereby joined the king's service. We find many scions of this house who are designated as Śāhi-putrāḥ or Śāhivaṁśajā Rājaputrāḥ, having positions of renown in the time of king Anantadeva (A.D.1028-1063).[2] Vasantalekha and other Śāhi princesses were the wives of king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101).[3] After the defeat of king Harṣa these Śāhi ladies true to the valour of their race gave their lives by setting fire to the palace.[4] We find that Bimbā, a Śāhi daughter and a daughter-

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[1] R.T., VII, 324-326.

[2] R.T., VII, 144 sqq., 178, 274.

[3] R.T., VII, 956, 1470.

[4] R.T., VII,1550-1571.

in-law of Tuṅga, entered fire as a śāti after the murder of her husband.[1] Kalhaṇa does not fail to make mention of the fame and renown enjoyed in his time by the numerous kṣatriya clan which claimed descent from the Śāhi race.[2] These immigrant Śāhi families must have had close social relations with the Rāja-putra and Khaśa families in particular.

The Tantrins and Ekāṅgas, who are quite often mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, formed a warrior class. There does not appear to have been a marked difference in the character of these people who represented a strong military organisation. The Tantrins were at the peak of their power during the first four decades of the tenth century A.D. They were the most influential body in deciding the affairs of the state. When king Saṁkaravarman's lineage had died queen Sugandhā herself ruled for two years (A.D.904-906) through the goodwill of the Tantrins who had formed a confederacy and were strong enough to punish or to favour the rulers.[3] Once, in order to bestow regal power on some fit person, queen Sugandhā held an assembly of the ministers, feudal chiefs, Tantrins and Ekāṅgas, and while they were combating over the choice the Tantrin foot-soldiers made

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[1] R.T., VII, 103.

[2] R.T., VIII, 3230.

[3] R.T., V, 250-255.

Pārtha, the son of Nirjitavarman (grandson of Sūravarman), king.[1] When the cause of queen Sugandhā was taken up by Ekaṅga troops who had brought back the queen from Huṣkapura, the Tantrins broke the union of the Ekāṅgas by defeating them and captured the queen who was put to death afterwards.[2] Kalhaṇa very pathetically remarks at this critical juncture: 'Then there arose in this noble land a series of misfortunes which caused the destruction of wealth and lives everywhere. The kings were in the service of the Tantrins, and ousted each other, like village officials, by offering greater and greater bribes. In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kanyakubja and other countries, the kings now maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange (huṇḍikā) to the Tantrins'.[3] Pārthā was overthrown by Paṅgu (Nirjitavarman) with the support of the Tantrins.[4] The claim of Cakravarman, the son of Nirjitavarman, whom the latter hadplaced on the throne, was challenged by Pārthā who with the assistance of the Tantrin foot-soldiers fought a battle with the Ekaṅgas.[5] Cakravarman was overthrown by the Tantrins

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[1] R.T., V, 250-255.

[2] R.T., V, 257-262.

[3] R.T. V, 263-266.

[4] R.T., V, 287.

[5] R.T., V, 288-289.

in 933/4, who made Śūravarman I, the son of Paṅgu from Mṛgāvatī, king.[1] Though this prince was of good character, he could not find favour with the Tantrins without rich presents. Consequently after a year, he was deposed by Tantrin foot-soldiers who seeing a chance of profit made Pārtha king.[2] After a year Cakravarman again secured the throne by bribing the Tantrins.[3] As Cakravarman had fled in fear as he could not pay the promised money to the Tantrins, Śambhavardhana succeeded in capturing the throne by promising them better pay.[4] But Cakravarman's courage was not exhausted. He succeeded in securing the assistance of powerful Dāmara Saṁgrāma and his other Dāmara class-fellows, and gave a crushing defeat to the Tantrins in a fierce fight near Padmapura, the casualties in the Tantrin camp being more than five thousand.[5] While referring to the execution of the Tantrins at the hand of king Cakravarman Kalhaṇa writes: 'The evil-lived Tantrin had previously, like cruel snake-charmers, reduced princes deserving of respect, unapproachable, and of great descent, to helplessness

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[1] R.T., V, 292.

[2] R.T., V, 193-195.

[3] R.T., V, 297.

[4] R.T., V, 304.

[5] R.T., V, 306 sqq.

as if they had been tamed snakes. Making ever new demands, they had wantonly, for the sake of their living, exposed them to shame, in playful tricks. Cakravarman, who felt deep indignation at this contemptuous treatment, destroyed them in a moment, as if he had been a great snake, with the hot poison of his sacred hatred.'[1]

The Tantrins were in the service of king Harṣa also and were captured along with Rājaputra's, feudatories etc., in the temple of Vijayeśvara by Sussala.[2] The Tantrins intrigued against king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) and sided with the conspirators to kill the king.[3] Kalhaṇa mentions Karṇa and Śūdraka, the Tantrin brothers who in company with other Tantrin classfellows died in suppressing the revolt of Garga and his partisans which occurred in the early years of king Sussala's reign.[4] It is seen that the Tantrins were a military caste in Kashmir and their ascendancy in the first half of the tenth century A.D. may be attributed to their numerically stronger representation in the army. In the tenth century the kings were at the mercy of the

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[1] R.T., V, 338-340.

[2] R.T., VII, 1513.

[3] R.T., VIII, 303, 375.

[4] R.T., VIII, 507, 510, 597.

Tantrins who raised different claimants to the throne one after the other by accepting larger and larger bribes.

Like the Tantrins, the Ekaṅgas who have been frequently mentioned in the fifth, sixth and seven taraṅgas of the Rājatara'ngiṇī appear to have been a special section of the Kashmirian army and both these special tribal units in the army fought quite often with each other by supporting different claimants to the throne. They had a say in the affairs of the country and the kings, princes, ministers and other pretenders dreaded their power.

Queen Sugandhā (A.D.904-906) could rule for two years relying on the power of the Ekaṅgas[1]. Kelhaṇa's reference to the queen as convening an assembly of the ministers, feudal chiefs (sāmantas), Tantrins and Ekaṅgas in order to find out a suitable successor to the throne quite obviously conveys that, as the Tantrins, they had great influence in the selection of a king.[2] Later on, taking the side of queen Sugandhā who had been ousted by the powerful Tantrins who themselves had raised Pārthā as king, the Ekaṅgas unsuccessfully fought with the Tantrins.[3] When in A.D.923 Cakravarman was installed by his dying father Paṅgu

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[1] R.T., V, 249.

[2] R.T., V, 250.

[3] R.T., V, 259-261.

(Nirjitavarman), the Tantrin foot-soldiers siding with Pārtha, fought a battle with the Ekāṅgas.[1] After king Yaśaskara has been seized by an abdominal disease, he had Varṇaṭa, the son of his paternal grand-uncle Rāmadeva, consecrated as king by the ministers, Ekaṅgas and feudal chiefs and entrusted him to their care.[2] Parvagupta resorted to witchcraft for the extermination of the child king Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D.948-949) as he could not destroy the child openly for fear of a rising of the Ekaṅgas.[3]

With reference to the first Lohara dynasty, Kalhaṇa mentions about thirty brave Ekaṅgas laying down their lives in the cause of their master Tuṅga who was treacherously murdered.[4] After the death of Harirāja (A.D.1028), the Ekaṅgas made Ananta king.[5] The Ekaṅgas protected king Anantadeva (A.D.1028-1063) from the rising of Tribhuvana, the powerful commander-in-chief, and the king out of kind feeling relieved the Ekangas of the uncertain dependence on the Akṣapaṭala office and gave them instead a fixed

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[1] R.T., V, 288-289.

[2] R.T., VI, 90-91.

[3] R.T., VI, 121-125.

[4] R.T., VII, 94.

[5] R.T., VII, 134-135.

assignment (vilabdhisthāvara).[1] King Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), in his final struggle tried to collect the force of the Ekaṅgas in the neighbourhood of the office of the akṣapaṭala.[2] We may infer from this that the Ekaṅgas, in addition to their service in the army, performed police duties also.

From the passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī in which the Lavanyas are referred to, we glean that they constituted a tribal group of the rural agriculturist population of Kashmir. By comparing the numerous verses of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[3] it becomes evident that Kalhaṇa, while referring to the Dāmaras, indiscriminately uses the term Lavanya to designate them and from the way in which Kalhaṇa employs the name it should be counted that many Dāmaras were recruited from the Lavanya tribe. We should also see in them a powerful class of tribal landowners who played a prominent part in the internal strifes which characterized history of the elventh and twelfth centuries.

A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that special sections of the people in Kashmir were designated by their tribal names,

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[1] R.T., VII, 154-162. The meaning of the term vilabhdhi is doubtful. Stein (R.T., VII, 161-162 note) interprets it as an assignment, a sort of pension. In the Charter of Viṣṇusena of Kathiawar, dated A.D.592, Vailabdhika is mentioned as one of the state officers. This designation, derived from vilabdhi, seems to indicate the custodian of presents offered to the king or of stolen property recovered from thieves (D.C.Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Ch.VIII, section III, p.361; Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXX, p.167.)

[2] R.T., VII, 1604.

[3] Compare VII, 1228 with VII 1229 sqq.; VII, 1236 with VII, 1237, VII, 1254 sq; VIII, 627 with VIII 910 sqq; VIII, 1127; VIII, 2009 with 2012.

e.g. the Tantrins, the Ekāṅgas, the Lavanyas etc.

No doubt the Vaiśyas were considered as a separate caste, but the tendency to level them down to the status of the Śūdras had set in very early.[1] The literature confirms the traditional view that most of the Vaiśyas were peasants. But we have reasons to think that the Śūdras were also becoming peasants slowly and steadily. In fact the law books of Manu, Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya show that land was rented out to Śūdras against half the crop.[2] By and by these Śudras established themselves permanently on the land. Kalhaṇa, too, does not seem to distinguish between Vaiśyasand Śūdras and almost the total absence of these terms in the Rājataraṅgiṇī tends to reveal that both those castes had gradually merged into a single class. No doubt both these castes had given themselves to each other's profession but the conception of the Vaiśyas as a separate caste was not altogether unknown. Kalhaṇa refers to Bhūti, a Vaiśya, working as a watchman at the temple of Gaurīśa during the reign of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063).[3] The Vaiśyas not only adopted the profession of the fourth traditional caste but some of the capable Vaiśyas worked

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[1] Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra, I, 11.4. Manu, III,112.
A.S.Altekar, Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times, pp. 332-333.
G.S.Ghurye, Caste and Class in India, pp. 57, 64, 88, 96.

[2] Manu, IV, 253; Viṣnu, LVII, 16 uses the term ārdhikaḥ; Yājñavalkya, I, 166 uses the term ardhasīrikaḥ.

[3] R.T., VII, 207.

as state ministers. Kalhaṇa records Haladhara, one of the three sons of Vaiśya Bhūti, as obtaining the prime ministership (sarvādhikārita) on account of his skill in management, under king Ananta (A.D.1028-1063).[1] Alberuni also does not appear to have found any difference in the status of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, when he writes that their tongues were cut off by the ruler, if men fromeither of these castes recited the Vedas.[2] So the distinctions between the functions of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras were being gradually obliterated. Manu allows the Vaiśyas to take to the occupations of the Śūdras if they find it difficult to support themselves by their own occupations.[3] We do not find any separate reference to the functions of these two castes in the Questions of Milinda. A passage prescribes trade, cultivation and tending of cattle as the functions of the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras.[4]

There appears to have been an improvement in the status of the pure Śūdras in the Valley. Broadly speaking, the Śūdras may be divided into two categories, i.e. the pure and the impure.

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[1] R.T., VII, 208-209.

[2] Sachau, vol. II, p.136.

[3] Manu, X, 98.

[4] Milinda, p.178.
avaseśanaṃ puthuvessaruddānaṃ Kasivaṇijja
gorakkhā karaṇiyā

In the first category may be placed the agricultural and other labourers, artisans, wood workers, carters, workers of water-wheels, handmills etc., barbers, herdsmen, load-carriers, fishermen, potters, ironsmiths, washermen and the like. The second category includes the Caṇḍālas, Ḍombas, niṣādas, kirātas, svāpakas, leather tanners etc. Kalhaṇa's account does not help us to draw a line of demarcation between the Vaiśyas and the pure Śūdras. The Vaiśyas continued to be peasants, artisans, the petty traders, and the emergence of the Śūdras as a class of agriculturists, artisans and the like, appears to be the cause of their not being referred to separately by Kalhaṇa.

The law-books prescribe service to the three other varṇas as the duty of a Śūdra.[1] The Śūdras have been held as workers (karmakaras)[2], and it is stated that there would be no workers if there were no Śūdras. Nārada and Bṛhaspati divide the wage earners (bhṛtakas) into three categories, i.e. those who served in the army, those who used the plough and those who carried loads from place to place.[3] The Rājataraṅgiṇī gives no information about the wages of agricultural labourers in Kashmir. We

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[1] Manu, I, 91; Kāmandaka, II, 21; Śāntiparvan, 60.26, 92.2; Anuśasanaparvan, 9.18; Bhagvatapurāṇa, XI, 17.19; Bhaviśyapurāṇa, I, 44.27; Markaṇḍyapurāṇa, 28.3-8, Viṣṇupurāṇa, III, 8.32 & 33.

[2] Anuśāsanaparvan, 208.34.

[3] Nārada, V, 23. Bṛhaspati, XV, 12 and 13.

may merely conjecture that the conditions of labour were fairly good in the ancient past and consequently with the lapse of time, the agricultural labourers turned into influential land-owning class during the period under survey. The Śāntiparvan[1] prescribes that the cultivator who is supplied with seeds is entitled to a seventh part of the yield. But Bṛhaspati who is more liberal recommends that the workers engaged in cultivation should receive a quarter of the yield if they are provided with food and clothing, but a third if they had not been supplied with food and clothing.[2] These or even more liberal provisions must have been in practice in the Valley since early times and the agricultural labourers gradually developed into a powerful land-owning class (Ḍāmaras). We have reasons to assume that the majority of the Ḍāmaras belonged to the Śūdra caste. They are nowhere referred to as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas. If they belonged to Brāhmaṇa caste the Rājataraṅgiṇī which treats them at great length would have mentioned them so. That they were not kṣatriyas either becomes evident from Kalhaṇa's recording with admiration of the wife of the Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka who true to her noble descent from the Rājput family becomes satī. While praising

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[1] Śāntiparvan, 60, 25.

[2] Bṛhaspati, XVI, 1-2.

her exceptional conduct Kalhaṇa distinguishes her conduct with other Dāmara ladies who do not become satī after the death of their husbands.[1] We have discussed elsewhere that the practice of satī was prevalent among the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya population of the Valley. Had Lavaṇya Dāmaras belonged to either of these castes the practice of satī would have been followed by their ladies. Either the Lavaṇyas originally could not have held a very low position as a caste, or with their rise to wealth and power that gradual elevation in the social scale had already set in, which forms so interesting a feature in the modern history of many an Indian caste.[2] M.A.Stein correctly puts more probability to the latter explanation and quotes the Jaṭs of the Panjāb plains as an exact parallel. From this agricultural caste of low social position there has risen during the times of Sikh ascendancy, a powerful landed aristocracy, which has supplied most of the families ruling the Panjāb Native States. One of these Jaṭ chiefs has not so long ago succeeded in obtaining a wife from a poor but noble Rājpūt family, notwithstanding the aversion with which such a mésalliance is regarded among the proud Rājputs of the Panjāb hills. The history of this Jaṭ aristocracy seems also in other

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[1] R.T., VIII, 2334 sq.

[2] M.A.Stein, R.T.(Eng.Tr.), vol. II, p.307.

respects to illustrate the origin and growthof the Dāmara class.[1] This leads us to believe that the Dāmaras of the Lavanya tribe who are of common occurrence in the Rājataraṅgiṇī belonged to the Śūdra caste. But this does not mean that all the landed aristocracy belonged to the low caste as there were others belonging to different varṇas, particularly the Brāhmaṇas of the agrahāra lands who with the passage of time must have become big landlords. Incidentally, Kalhaṇa records a story of a householder Jayyaka who by the revenue of his lands and exporting victuals to distant lands had accumulated exceptional wealth and had gradually raised himself to the position of a Dāmara.[2] This story reveals that apart from direct inheritance the position of a Dāmara, i.e. powerful wealthy land-owner could be achieved by anyone. The story also testifies to the profession of trade as having been practised by some of the Śūdra community as well in the Valley. Yājñavalkya allows the Śūdras to become traders if they fail to maintain themselves by service to the twice-born.[3] Bṛhaspati allows a Śūdra to trade in all articles as one of his normal occupations. The Purāṇas,[4] too, allow the

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[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.307 note.

[2] R.T., VII, 494 sqq.

[3] Yājñavalkya, I, 120.

[4] Mārkaṇḍyapurāṇa, 28, 3-8; Viṣṇupurāṇa, III, 8.32-33.

Śūdras to indulge in trade activities. But the position of the Śūdra trader does not seem to have been as favourable as that of other varṇas. Bṛhaspati prescribes that a Śūdra partner in business should pay one sixth of the profits to the king, a Vaiśya one ninth, a Kṣatriya one tenth and a Brāhmaṇa one twentieth.[1] It is, however, uncertain how far the theoretical rules affected the position of the Śūdra traders as Kalhaṇa is silent on this score. But the power gradually attained by the Śūdra agriculturists speaks in favour of their being well-placed in trade too.

The Anuśāsanaparvan,[2] warns a wise ruler not to be complacent towards the Śūdras who are destroyers of the king. Kalhaṇa, using king Lalitāditya as his mouthpiece makes that king warn his successors that 'Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their field. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year formidable Ḍāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the kings'.[3] The invincible power attained by these Śūdra landowners (Ḍāmaras) in later years seems to suggest

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[1] Bṛhaspati, XIII, 16.

[2] Anuśāsanaparvan, 214.58.

[3] R.T., IV, 347348.

negligence on the part of the rulers of Kashmir towards the political maxims of Lalitāditya. These passages covering the advice of king Lalitāditya as well as those in which the Lavanyas and the Dāmaras are used indiscriminately as also the story of householder Jayyaka already referred to, tend to show that the term Dāmara started as a tribal name but later came to be used as a class name. To put it another way, the Lavanyas and other tribal sections who were rich landlords were initially called Dāmaras (meaning a feudal lord) but the term was later extended to all those who by virtue of their wealth acquired from land and trade and other such means could attain the position of a territorial lord. But looking at the pages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, we are forced to believe that great majority of these Dāmaras belonged to low castes.

The Dāmaras came to limelight and started asserting themselves from the middle of the ninth century. They had attained power during the weak rulers of the tenth century but we meet with their fullest development during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These feudal lords kept their armed attendants and Kalhaṇa specifically mentions their seats (upaveśana) capable of defence and the districts to which they belonged. During the period from the Saṁgrāmarāja to Utkarṣa's death (A.D.1003-1089), the Dāmaras, had established themselves and setting up various pretenders and

siding sometimes with king Ananta and sometimes with Kalaśa maintained the father and the son in their internecine struggle. Harṣa's attempt to suppress their power cost him his throne. The period from the accession of Uccala (A.D.1101) to the end of our period is marked with a series of struggles between these feudal lords and the Kashmirian kings or between their own factions.

According to a story[1] related by Kalhaṇa, a Dāmara Lakkanacandra held the castle of Dugahghāta which guarded the route to the Dard country. After being executed by order of Ananta, the widow of the Dāmara subsequently offered the fort to king Kalaśa, apparently with the intention of assuring the safety from the inroads of the Dards. King Kalaśa turned down the offer, which resulted in the capture of the stronghold by the Dard king from whom king Harṣa subsequently vainly strove to recover with the help of the neighbouring Dāmaras. The facts here referred to 'justify the conclusion that strongholds as well as lands had practically become hereditary possessions in the family of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption'.[2] It is difficult

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[1] R.T., VII, 1171 sqq.

[2] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.306.

to ascertain 'the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence, was acquired and held. If we compare the conditions prevailing in other parts of India where a similar class of landed aristocracy is still extant, the view suggests itself that a kind of service tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system. Yet even as regards this point the absence of all exact data prevents us from going beyond mere conjecture. Still less can we hope to ascertain the exact relations in which the Ḍāmaras may have stood towards their sovereign and towards the cultivators in matters of revenue administration etc.'[1] Discussing in detail the position of the Rānas and Thākurs of the Western Himalaya, T. Hutchison and J. Vogel write: 'The feudal barons in Kashmir, corresponding to the Ranas and Thakurs in other parts of the hills, bore the title of Damara, and they belonged chiefly to a class called Lavanya, who were agriculturists, and may therefore have held much the same social rank as Thakurs, Rathis and similar agricultural castes elsewhere in the hills.'[2]

The term Ṭhakkura occurs for the first time in the sense of a baron or small nobility.[3] in the seventh canto of the Rājataraṅgiṇī

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[1] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.307.

[2] History of the Panjab Hill States, vol. I, p.17.

[3] R.T., VII, 290.

and almost all the passages of this and the following eighth Canto refer to the Ṭhakkuras of Lohara.[1] It appears that the feudal landowners in Kashmir proper were designated by the term Ḍāmara and not by the Ṭhakkura which term was used in the Khaśa territory of Lohara which of course came to form part of Kashmir from A.D. 1003 onwards when the throne of Kashmir passed to the Lohara house. In the neighbouring hill states the Rānas belonged to the Kṣatriya caste and the Thākurs as a caste ranked 'immediately below the Rājputs'. As the Khaśas of Lohara are described as belonging to the Kṣatriya caste, their feudal lords seem to be designated by the term Ṭhakkura, whereas the majority of the feudal lords in Kashmir proper seem to belong to the Lavanya and other low castes, they were not designated as Ṭhakkura but with different term Ḍāmara. But a passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[2] informs us that the title of Ṭhakkura was sometimes conferred as an honorary distinction. Kalhaṇa records that Camaka obtained as king Kalaśa's favourite 'a place even among the councillors and received the title of Ṭhakkura'.

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[1] R.T., VII, 535, 706-780, 1040: VIII, 1828, 1942, 1989, 2223, 2278.

[2] R.T., VII, 290.

An examination of the pages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that the title Rājānaka which literally means 'almost a king' was conferred especially on ministers as a recognition of their services rendered to the king. The term came to be regarded as synonymous with minister as Kalhaṇa, referring to minister Parvagupta who had established himself as the sole master of the place in the time of the child-king Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D.948-949), remarks: 'Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of king (rājan) and Rājānaka'.[1] Queen Diddā is recorded to have conferred the title Rājānaka on her favourite minister Narvāhana who had made the queen acquire power.[2] The title Rājānaka or Rājāna continued to be in use as a designation of a high officer even after the Hindu rule.[3] It appears that during the period under survey, the title Rājānaka was often conferred on the Brāhmaṇas and thus the title has 'survived in the form Rāzdān as a family name of very frequent occurrence among the Brahmans of Kāsmīr'.[4] The title Rājānaka which was originally

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[1] R.T., VI, 117.

[2] R.T, VI, 261.

[3] Śrīvara, I, 88; III, 162, 388, 390; IV, 225, 298, 355. Fourth Chronicle, 33, 64 sqq., 138, 906. This title was also prevalent in Trigarta - (R.T., VIII, 756 note; Ep.Ind., I, p.101; II, p.483).

[4] Report, p.42. M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.244 note.

used by the barons of hill states of Chamba, Trigarta etc. came to be used even in these states as an honorary distinction.[1]

The law-books include handicrafts as normal occupations of the Śūdras.[2] Bṛhaspati defines these crafts as working in gold, base metals, wood, thread, stone and leather.[3] Again Kalhaṇa does not make any distinction between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras while referring to different classes of artisans such as carters,[4] wood dealers,[5] leather worker,[6] barber,[7] potter[8] etc. who served the society in a useful way.

The load-carriers[9] were no doubt regarded as a low type of worker; nonetheless they constituted an important section of labourers in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's account does not shed any light on the rules that regulated the relations between the carriers and the owners of the merchandise. Nārada avers that a carrier who abandons merchandise which he had agreed to carry to its destination, will give a sixth part of his wages,[10] but if he

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[1] J. Hutchison and J. Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States, vol. I, p.24. Buhler's edition of the Baijnath Praśastis, Epigraphia Indica, I, p.101. M.A.Stein, Epigraphia Indica, II, p.483.

[2] Kāmandaka, II, 21; IV, 54-56. Mārkaṇḍyapurāṇa, 28, 3-8; Viṣṇupurāṇa, III, 8.32-33. Yājñavalkya, I, 120; Viṣṇu, III, 5.

[3] Bṛhaspati, XIII, 33.

[4] R.T., VIII, 727.

[5] R.T., VII, 1727.

[6] R.T., VIII, 137.

poses any difficulties at the time of starting he will be required to pay twice the amount of his wages.[1] This rule has also the support of Yājñavalkya.[2] Neither do we get any information from the chronicle of Kalhaṇa on the relations between the employer and the labourers. Most law-books prescribe a fine of double the amount of wages, in case the worker fails to perform his work after having received his wages.[3] Viṣṇu asserts that if a worker fails to complete his work, he should pay a fine of a hundred paṇas to the king in addition to his wages to the employer.[4] But he prescribes similar punishment for the employer, if he dismisses the worker before the completion of the work.[5] Bṛhaspati[6] lays down a proper punishment by the king for the employer who does not pay wages to a worker who has completed his

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[7] R.T., VII, 203, 666.

[8] R.T., VIII, 138.

[9] R.T., VIII, 263.

[10] Nārada, VI, 6-7.

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[1] Nārada, VI, 3.

[2] Yājñavalkya, II, 198.

[3] Yājñavalkya, II, 193; Nārada, VI, 5; Bṛhaspati, XVI, 5-6.

[4] Viṣṇu, V, 153-154.

[5] Viṣṇu, V, 157-158.

[6] Bṛhaspati, XVI, 11.

work. Nārada goes a step further when he says that in such a case the employer shall be compelled to pay the wages with interest.

A study of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[1] reveals the existence of slavery in the Valley, though it appears to be on the wane. The Śāntiparvan maintains the theory that the Śūdra was created by Prajāpati as the dāsa of the three other varṇas.[2] The dāsas in the Valley do not seem to have been employed in productive activities but were chiefly employed in domestic work, as the account of Kalhaṇa shows. Kalhaṇa clearly refers to the existence of female slaves (dāsīs)[3], who served as maid-servants and concubines[4] in the houses of rich people.

The unsympathetic and contemptuous feelings for the slaves is reflected in such utterances as 'the son of a slave girl' (dāsīsuta).[5] Kalhaṇa, while depicting the events of the later part of the reign of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063), writes that the queen Sūryamatī felt embittered against her son Kalaśa

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[1] R.T., VII, 250, 1645; VIII, 137, 1727, 1952.

[2] Śāntiparvan, 60.27.

[3] R.T., VII, 250; VIII, 137, 1727, 1952.

[4] The practice of keeping slave girls as concubines goes back to an early period (Arthaśāstra, III, 135; Kātyāyana, 728; Medhātithi on Manu, IX, 143.

[5] Samayamātṛkā, VIII, 18.

and out of jealousy and hatred 'made the queens of her son constantly do the work of slave girls (dāsīs), until they did not refuse to do even the smearing of the house-floor with dung etc.'[1] Nārada[2] mentions fifteen kinds of slaves and Bṛhaspati[3] joins him in stating that they are employed in impure work, which consists of sweeping the gateway, the privy, the road, removing the leavings of food, ordure, wine etc., and rubbing the master's limbs or shampooing the secret parts of his body. According to the Jaina Hemachandra,[4] the duties of a slave girlinclude grinding, threshing, carrying water, sweeping and smearing the house with cow-dung and such other household work. At another place, referring to the normal treatment meted out to slaves he writes that they are required to carry heavy loads, endure hunger and thirst and are beaten like mules.[5] In a passage Kalhaṇa[6] hints at the unreliable character of the water-carrying slave woman (kumbhadāsī).

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[1] R.T., VII, 250.

[2] Nārada, V, 26-28.

[3] Nārada, V, 5-7; Bṛhaspati, XV, 15-16.

[4] Triṣaṣtiśalākapuruṣacarita, vol. III, p.248.

[5] Triṣaṣtiśalākapuruṣacarita, vol. I, p.56.

[6] R.T., VIII, 1727.

They have also been exposed as unreliable in the Mṛcchakaṭika[1]. In another passage Kalhaṇa gives a glimpse of the poor condition of the dāsas. In this passage Kalhaṇa, while depicting the poor tale of Harṣa's last days and his seeking refuge in a mendicant's hut, states that the king was wearing a woollen cloak of a slave (dāsa).[2] This hints at the unsatisfactory condition of the dāsas though we do not pick anything about the rules regulating the dāsa and his master.

The members of the second category, viz., the Caṇḍālas, the Ḍombas, the Kirātas and the Niṣādas occupied the lowest rank in the social hierarchy. The Purāṇas and the Smṛtis degrade them as untouchables and are very severe in emphasising the social and religious disabilities of this class. Repeating the old law, the Agnipurāṇa[3] prescribes that the Caṇḍālas shall be employed for the execution of criminals, shall wear the clothes of the dead, and while living outside the village shall not pollute others by their touch. Medhātithi[4] prescribes the similar task to Svapākas. We notice certain rules in the Smṛtis to prevent

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[1] Mṛcchakāṭika (Karmarkar's Edition), p.309.

[2] R.T., VII, 1645.

[3] Agnipurāṇa, 151, 10f.

[4] On Manu, X, 38.

pollution by the touch of Caṇḍālas.[1] Medhātithi prescribes even certain distinctive signs that should be borne by the Caṇḍālas.[2] This is not all. Some of the smṛtis even go to the extent of prescribing certain penances for crossing the shadows of the Caṇḍālas. Atri, Aṅgiras, Śātātapa, and Auśanasa - Smṛti[3] prescribe purification by bath for crossing a Caṇḍāla's shadow. But Medhātithi[4] and Śivadharmottara[5] do not side with this view. According to Alberuni[6] the people called Hādi, Ḍoma (Ḍomba), Caṇḍāla and Badhatau are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupation.

Kalhaṇa records that Śuyya, who turned out to be a great engineer in the time of king Avantivarman (A.D.855/6-883) was found by a Caṇḍāla woman in an earthen vessel while sweeping up a dust heap on the road. This woman without defiling the child by her touch, arranged for his keep in the house of a śūdra-nurse'.[7]

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[1] On Manu, V, 12; X, 51.

[2] On Manu, X, 55.

[3] Atri, 288-289; Aṅgiras, quoted by Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya, III, 30; Śātātapa quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya, III, 292; Auśanasasmṛti, IX, 1.552.

[4] On Manu, V, 133.

[5] Quoted by Aparārka on Yājñavalkya, I, 193.

[6] Sachau, vol. I, 101.

[7] R.T., V, 74-77.

The Jaina writer Hemacandra also prescribes that the Caṇḍālas and the Ḍombas would make sounds of sticks to enable men of higher castes to avoid pollution.[1]

The Caṇḍālas in Kashmir appear to have been fierce and ferocious fighters. Kalhaṇa records that once king Uccala (A.D.1101-11), who was stopping in Kramarājya, proceeded to the hill village of Varhaṭacakra to see the Svayambhū fire. As he was marching by way of the village of Kambaleśvara, he was surrounded by armed Caṇḍālas, robbers of that locality. The personal courage of the king only attracted their weapons.[2] In Kashmir the Caṇḍālas worked as royal bodyguards[3] and watchmen.[4] It is not improbable that some served in the king's army though there is no certainty on this score.[5] Caṇḍālas were employed by conspirators to assassinate king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111).[6]

The Ḍombas, another low caste, are also quite often mentioned by Kalhaṇa. On some occasions they are mentioned together with the Caṇḍalas and this association shows that there was no

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[1] Deśīnāmamālā, II, 73; II.54. dumbādinām sparaśaparihārartha chihnayaṣṭih; chaṇḍaladinam sparśa parihārartha chihnayaṣṭih.

[2] R.T., VIII, 250-252.

[3] R.T., IV, 516.

[4] R.T., VII, 309; VIII, 2172; VI, 77.

[5] R.T., IV, 475, 476.

[6] R.T., VIII, 304, 325.

difference in the social status of the Ḍombas and the Caṇḍālas. That the touch of the Ḍombas and the Caṇḍālas was considered impure becomes quite evident from Kalhaṇa's reference to a terribly conflagration[1] that arose in the reign of Abhimanyu (A.D.958-972), destroying the great buildings. Kalhaṇa writes that "the fire, as it were, purified theland, by burning the great buildings which the contact of the kings who had been touched by Ḍombas and Caṇḍālas had defiled'.[2] It is to be noted that Kalhaṇa mentions the Ḍombas also as Śvapākas.[3] We have already noticed Medhātithi (On Manu, X.38) as assigning to Sopākas the task of executioners, carrying away unclaimed corpses and taking their clothes, of eating cakes offered to the dead and the like. Such functions may have been performed by the Śvapākas of Kashmir also though we do not come across any direct reference to it.

In view of the stories recorded by Kalhaṇa it appears that singing and dancing for the entertainment of the people was one of the occupations of the Ḍombas.[4] Alberuni also found

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[1] R.T., VI, 190-191.

[2] R.T., VI, 192.

[3] R.T., V, 390-393, 405, 407, 413, 415.

[4] R.T., V, 354-396.

the Ḍombas as singers and lute-players.[1] A passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, however, describes the Ḍombas as huntsmen.[2]

We find the Ḍombas in power during the reign of king Cakravarman (A.D. 936-937). The king paying no regard to the low caste of the Ḍombas, tookinto his seraglio Harisī and Nāgalatā the sweet-eyed daughters of Ḍomba singer Raṅga and raised their relatives to ministerial posts.[3] Kalhaṇa is not happy and grudgingly remarks: 'Robbers as ministers, a Śvapāka-woman as queen, Śvapākas as friends: what wonders were left for king Cakravarman to achieve?'[4] Again 'Surely gods of fierce might did not then dwell in this land. Otherwise how could then a Śvapāka woman have entered their temples?'[5] We alsonotice that those who partook of the food left over by the Ḍombas queen had their seats in the court, not only of Cakravarman but the subsequent kings too. Taking of food remnants is prohibited by the smṛtis.[6] Kalhaṇa is also against this

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[1] Sachau, vol. I,p.102.

[2] R.T., V, 182.

[3] R.T., V, 360 sqq.

[4] R.T., V, 391.

[5] R.T., V. 394.

[6] Manu, IV, 211; Viṣṇu, II,10.

practice. Speaking of king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), he remarks: "From the intercourse with those who had taken the Ḍombas' food remnants, impurity fell upon Yaśaskara, just as the evil of leprosy spreads through the touch of a leper.'[1]

Kalhaṇa assigns to the Kirātas, another low caste of forest-dwellers, the task of destroying wild beasts by raising jungle-fires and by constructing traps.[2] Kirātas along with śabaras and Pulindas are included in the Śūdra-varga of the Amarakośa.[3]

The Niṣādas, another low caste of Kashmir generally lived by fishing and hunting. But in one passage Kalhaṇa includes in the term Niṣāda also the boatmen of the Valley.[4] It is not unlikely that fishing played a great part in the livelihood of the boatmen. They occupied a low position in the social scale. W.R.Lawrence draws a vivid picture of the divisions and the customs of these boatmen (Hāṇji). He writes: 'The father of the family is an autocrat and, while his sons and daughters remain on his boat, all their earnings go to the father, who

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[1] R.T., V, 84.

[2] R.T., VIII, 358.

[3] Amarakośa, II, 10.21.

[4] R.T., V, 101.

supplies them with food. When a son wishes to marry he must obtain his father's consent, which is often withheld, as there is little room for the young people in the Kashmiri boat. There are many divisions in the Hānji tribe. There are the half-amphibious paddlers of the Dal Lake (Demb Hānz), who are really vegetable-gardeners, and the boatmen of the Wular lake, who gather the Singhāra nuts (Gāri Hānz), and these two sections hold their heads high among the other Hānjis. Next in respectability come the boatmen, who live in the large barges known as bahats and wār, in which cargoes of 800 maunds of grain or wood are carried. Then less respectable come the owners of the dūngas or passenger boats. Dūnga Hānz prostitute their females, and, owing to the dependence of the city on the river, they have a footing in nearly every family of means. The worst of the Dimga Hānz are the Mār Hānz, or the boatmen who ply on the Nalla Mār. Then there are the Gad Hānz, who net or angle for fish..... Another small section of the tribe known as Hak Hānz make a livelihood by dredging for drift-wood in the rivers. The Dūnga and Gad Hānz are famous for their inventive powers and for their vocabulary of abuse, and when, as often happens, a quarrel arises between two boats, one woman stands up on the prow of her boat and commences a torrent of invective, to which one in the other boat promptly replies. The men remain seated listening with interest to the dialogue. If night sets in

before the women are exhausted they invert their rice baskets (paj), which signifies that the quarrel is not ended but laid aside till morning, when the wordy warfare is recommenced with fresh vigour'.[1]

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[1] W.R.Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 313-314.

Chapter III

LIFE IN THE VALLEY

In the mini country of Kashmir which is walled off by high mountains and dotted with numerous lakes, springs, rivers and streams which, being navigable by boats, formed the main means of communication, where there were very few roads suitable for wheeled traffic, where there was 'not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tīrtha' and people adhered to different creeds with complete tolerance, which was famous for its learning and where the people strictly followed the age-old customs and traditions, the life of the inhabitants was in several respects different from that in other parts of India.

The kings of this Happy Valleyled a luxurious polygamous life, having large seraglios. Both Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa take patriotic pride in the lofty palaces and homes of their land. King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) was the most luxurious of all the kings and Kalhaṇa mentions the grandeur of his palace and the court in glowing terms. During the course of his narrative Kalhaṇa gets many occasions to refer to the splendour and large demensions of the royal palace. It sounds that the king's palace was a beauty, having many stories and apartments serving purposes of administration and personal comforts of the royal house. The dancing hall and sometimes the assembly hall was used to witness the dancing, singing, poetical and dramatic performances.[1] A

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[1] Infra, p. 306.

separate building in the palace, which had a hundred gates (śatadvāra)[1] must have been gorgeous and wonderful. Judging from numerous references to the four-pillared pavilion (catuṣkikā, catuṣka, catuḥstambha) and the context in which it appears, it looks as though this served as one of the important drawing rooms, offering very good outside view and was used sometimes by kings to give hearings and darśana to the citizens.[2] A hall of eight columns (aṣṭastambhamaṇḍapa) is also referred to.[3] Whereas the inner court (ābhyantara) of the palace served to convene assemblies and give audience to the officials of high position when the 'Bāhya' were excluded, the outer court (bāhyāli, bāhya, bāhyabhṛtya was used to give audience to ordinary royal servants and public.[4] This distinction applied exactly to the Diwān-i Khās and Diwān-i 'Am, observed at the Moghul court.[5] King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) is said to have abandoned the old palace (purāṇarājadhānī) and set up another near the shrine of Sadāśiva,[6]

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[1] R.T., VII, 1550, 1556.

[2] R.T., VII, 707, 717, 1024; 1550, 1556, 1570, 1571; VIII, 23, 1375, 2327.

[3] R.T., VI, 96.

[4] R.T., IV, 62; VII, 385, 392, 986; VIII, 46.

[5] Bernier, Travels, p.265.

[6] R.T., VII, 186-187.

which remained the residence of later Hindu kings. The old palace is assumed to have existed in the old part of Pravarapura on the right bank of the river Vitastā and the new one is traced near the stream Kṣiptikā (Kuṭakul) on the left bank of the river Vitastā.[1] The great height of the palace is specially mentioned by Bilhaṇa and its rapid destruction by fire at the time of Uccala's final attack on Harṣa, accounts for the use of wood in large proportion in its construction.[2] A fair idea of what the Hindu palace looked like can be had from the one constructed by Zainu-l-ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470). Mirzā Haider writes: 'Sultan Zainu-l-ābidīn built himself a palace in the town which in the dialect of Kashmīr is called Rājdān (i.e. Skr. Rājadhānī). It has twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood.'[3]

Kalhaṇa mentions, though not elaborately, the daily time-table followed by the kings. It seems that different kings took to different routines according to their own preference and to the urgency and pressure of state business, and kings like Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) are known to have been very particular about court

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[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. I, p.283 note.

[2] R.T., VII, 1565 sq; 1583.

[3] Tārikh-i Rashīdī, p.429.

discipline and manners. The kings of Kashmir do not appear to have pursued such a rigorous and detailed time-table as that prescribed by Kautilya.[1] Looking at their luxurious palace life, toilet, amusements, worship, huge seraglios and the like, one can judge that the rulers of Kashmir did not devote as much time to the affairs of the state as advised in the Arthaśāstra. From the stray references in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, it is difficult to ascertain the precise division of time. King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), who lived in luxury and comfort, divided his time between the three aims (trivarga), and was invisible for all officials from the afternoon onwards.[2] Writing about King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), who was the most luxury-loving of all the kings of Kashmir, Kalhaṇa says that always fond of amusement, he slept for two watches of the day and kept awake at night, when he held his assemblies.[3] The Chroniclergoes on to say that his nights were spent in the assembly hall,which was illuminated by a thousand lamps, attending meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances.[4] Bath and worship of the gods appear to have constituted the forenoon daily routine of king Sussala (A.D. 1121-1128).[5]

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[1] Arthaśāstra., I,19.

[2] R.T., VII, 510; Mahābhāvata, II, V, 20; Kāmandaka, I, 65.

[3] R.T., VII, 943.

[4] R.T., VII, 944.

[5] R.T., VIII, 1299-1300.

Kalhaṇa's illustration, by two anecdotes, of the judicial sagacity of the Brāhmaṇa king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948), shows that this king finished with his daily business by evening, after which he took his food and was unapproachable by the petitioners.[1] The story of the Brāhmaṇa petitioner, who was attended to by this king even after he had dispensed with his daily business reveals the liberality and broadmindedness of king Yaśakara. In addition, the king later induced the Brāhmaṇa to partake of food by his side.[2] But there were others who cared more for their enjoyments. The Śukranītisāra,[3] unlike that of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra, requires the king to devote only eleven out of thirty muhūrtas for the affairs of the state. The Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra goes a step further in asking the king to attend to the business of the state for seven and a half muhārtas only. And the remaining period should be spent on bath, repast, amusements, playing with beloved ones, worship, dancing, cohabitation and sleep.[4] Though many kings of the tenth century proved incompetent and failed to rise to the occasion when the country fell to confusion and turmoil, on the whole the kings of our period took keen personal

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[1] R.T., VI, 42 sqq.

[2] R.T., VI, 56.

[3] Sukranītisāra, I, 276-285.

[4] Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra, I, 59-60.

interest in the discharge of their administrative duties. Some followed the Aśokan ideas of kingship and considered the welfare of the subjects as their primary duty.

Kalhaṇa sets forth very lofty ideas of kingship and cautions the rulers against oppression and tyranny. Welfare of the people is the keynote of his dictum and those kings who object is to oppress their subjects, perish together with their descendents, whereas royal fortune attends the race of those who will repair what has been destroyed.[1] Cautioning the kings against avarice and oppression Kalhaṇa writes that those kings who do evil to their subjects, have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay, even their name, destroyed in a moment.[2] Kalhaṇa follows the ideals of kingship as expressed in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and other law books with which he was thoroughly acquainted and influenced as his narrative shows. The Rājan is the 'guardian of the people', their 'ruler'.[3] Manu is very emphatic on the subject of protection, which involves all castes and creeds with special reference to minors and women.[4] Oppression through folly

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[1] R.T., I, 188.

[2] R.T., V, 211.

[3] Rveda, III, 43.

[4] Manu, VII, 2. 35.

will entail the loss of life and kingdom.[1] Kautilya wants a king to do good to all the people.[2] 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.'[3] Kalhaṇa is ready to attach supernatural powers to good and pious kings, whereas he calls the cruel kings as royal vetāla who find their deaths through the superior effect of subjects' merits.[4] The Chronicler who seems to have been partially influenced by Buddhist ideas of kingship, in addition wants a king to be virtuous, truthful, free from pride, wine and dice and from the evil-conducted favourites and morally high.[5] He writes: 'The king who yields to the passion of love, is fond if wine, is addicted to dice, and is surrounded by drunkards who plunder the riches of his treasury, is like a lotus which is red (rāgī), is full of sweet honey (madhuprāṇayavān), carries seeds (vihitākṣasaktir), and is frequented by bees (madhupair) which abstract the essence of its calyx (kośa). If then splendour attaches itself to the lotus, be it for the day only, there is no reason whatever to be

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[1] Manu, VII, 111-112.

[2] Arthaśāstra, I, 5 and 6.

[3] Arthaśāstra, I, 19.

[4] R.T., I, 190; III, 16-26; VIII, 2639.

[5] R.T., I, 279; VI, 153-154; cf. Manu, VII. 140.

astonished /at splendour attaching itself to the king/.'[1] Continuing in the same breath Kalhaṇa sagely records that 'kings who in their kingdom go eagerly after enjoyments, and please their mind with a multitude of various dresses, resemble bees which in the garden seek eagerly the stamina /of the flowers/ and please themselves with a multitude of various blossoms. Alas they /both/ somehow disappear as soon as they are seen; those /kings/ are thrown down by their destiny set in motion by fate, and these /bees/ by the creeper /set in motion/ by the wind.'[2] Desiring a king to be a sound judge of things Kalhaṇa remarks: 'That king who with dull senses mistakes a falsehood for the truth and truth for a falsehood, foregoes his aims and is put to sufferings by misfurtune. Persons without judgement abandon a glittering jewel because they take it for fire, and think that the glance of brown-eyed /maids/ which is directed towards another, is /intended/ for themselves. Why should they not then thus take everything here that is true for false, and that is false for true?'[3] The king should possess intellect and shrewdness and it is a great fault and the source of disgrace to him if he, like a Yogin, sees

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[1] R.T., VI, 154.

[2] R.T., VIII, 334.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2083-2084.

the same in every person.[1] Kalhaṇa prescribes very high qualifications for a king and wants him to be diplomatic, a shrewd judge of men and situations, virtuous, clever, kind and polite.[2] According to him those kings who praise a person's good qualities in public and discuss his faults behind his back, are fickle in their attachments, become an object of hatred to their servants.[3] According to Śāntiparvan, the king should be an expression of all virtues, beneficence and heroism.[4] Manu prescribes that the king should exert all his efforts, day and night, to conquer the senses and to avoid the ten vices which are enunciated in the Manusmṛti.

Some kings of Kashmir followed the type of paternalism followed by king Aśoke. King Janaka of the legendary period is compared to a father (Janaka) of his subjects.[5] King Kalaśa's (A.D. 1063-1089)early years were marked by sinful acts, licentiousness and greediness. But later on, Kalhaṇa records that 'through a rise in the subject's /fortune caused by their previous/ merits

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[1] R.T., I, 355.

[2] R.T., VIII, 48, 122, 599, 2083, 2663.

[3] R.T., I, 358.

[4] Śāntiparvan, 57, 21-22, 30-36; 69, 3-4; 80, 2-113; 120, 40-43.

[5] R.T., I,98, [illegible].

Kalaśa's mind was ever profitably occupied, just like that of a father, with plans for the kindly protection of the people'.[1] King Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) who overhauled the administrative machinery of the state by curbing the power of the cruel Dāmaras and oppressive kāyasthas, was so ambitious for the public welfare that 'when he heard of any trouble of the inhabitants, he left off his other occupations and relieved their distress, just as a father /relieves that/ of his sons'.[2] King Uccala, who was ever watchful and wise like Manu, became famous for the care /which he bestowed/ on his subjects, and which required no stimulation'.[3]

Sussala, the brother of Uccala, who occupied the throne of Kashmir in A.D. 1112, was almost of the same character as his elder brother. Kalhaṇa writes that 'no one else was like him in knowing the /suitable/ times, liberal on the /right/ occasion, resolute, brilliant in his conceptions, a judge of signs and far-sighted'.[4] He, too, was a well-doer to his subjects and 'when great calamities arose he would leave nothing untouched in his anxiety to overcome and to allay them, and would pour forth his

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[1] R.T., VII, 506.

[2] R.T., VIII, 60.

[3] R.T., VIII, 160.

[4] R.T., VIII, 486.

riches'.[1] But in contrast to his elder brother 'he was generally just as difficult to see for his servants, as king Uccala before had been easy to approach and affable to his attendants'. King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) also looked after the welfare of his subjects pretty well. In conclusion we should say that the kings of Kashmir followed these ideals according to their taste and preference.

The succession in the Valley is not without interest, in so far as we notice in the pages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī certain features which are also noticeable in the history of Ceylon. The narrative of Kalhaṇa reveals that the succession in Kashmir was, in general, hereditary and was based upon the principle of primogeniture. This practice is strictly followed in the legendaryperiod (up to the third canto of the Rājataraṅgiṇī). The Karkoṭa dynasty was instrumental in bringing about this breakage in the royal succession, a breakage which after the extinction of the Karkoṭa lineage, is occasionally visible until the time of Kalhaṇa, when the throne in some cases passed from the older brother to the younger brother.

Kalhaṇa, who was thoroughly versed in the Kāvya literature and possessed an intimate knowledge of the Rāmāyaṇa and the

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[1] R.T., VIII, 494.

[2] R.T., VIII, 496.

Mahābhārata, records in the following passage, while using king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa as his mouthpiece, the following advice in connection with succession: 'The elder should be placed on the throne, and when he should prove of violent nature, then you must need resist his commands..... Do not make the younger king. If /however/ through a fault of judgement, this should happen, then his commands should be obeyed and he /himself/ protected, though he may be of bad character.'[1] This passage, which is a part of the political testament of king Lalitāditya, whether it be his own dictation evincing the practice of the Valley, or might he be speaking on behalf of Kalhaṇa, clearly shows that after the death of the father, the throne went to the eldest son, and grants the right to the subjects toobject to the violent king. We learn that when Kṣitirāja renounced the throne of Lohara which was under the suzerainty of Kashmir, Utkarṣa the second eldest son of Kalaśa was installed there though he was a child, thereby the right of the eldest son Harṣa to the throne of Kashmir was secured.[2] No doubt, later, even though king Kalaśa wanted his eldest son Harṣa to succeed him, he had to crown the younger son Utkarṣa as his successor in the face of opposition from the discontented ministers and other intriguers

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[1] R.T., IV, 356-358.

[2] R.T., VII, 256 sqq.

who were evilly disposed towards Harṣa.[1] The long history of Kashmir shows that the succession was, in general, hereditary and passed fro m father to son according to primogeniture. It is important to note in this context that the acceptance of succession, due to misjudgement or other reasons, of the younger brother even, may he be of bad character, is advised and, no doubt, we come across such cases of bad-conducted king in the history of the Valley.

It is worth noticing that the change from the general practice to that of succession from brother to brother is visible even in the reigns of some of the last kings chronicled in the third Canto. We see that the reign of king Yudhiṣṭhira II is followed in succession by his two sons Lahkhaṇa-Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya-Tuñjina III. After the death of the latter, Kashmir was ruled in succession by his two sons namely Vikramāditya and Bālāditya. But it is with the advent of the Karkoṭas to the throne of Kashmir that the change becomes more pronounced. The Geneological Table of this dynasty shows that the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty is followed by his younger son (the elder son Malhana by name seems to have died in young age, IV, 4) Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II. He is said to have been followed in succession by his three sons, viz. Candrāpiḍa, Tārāpiḍa and Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa. King Lalitāditya is followed in succession by his son Kuvalayāpiḍa and Vajrāditya-Bappiyaka. The latter is followed

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[1] R.T., VII, 646-647, 703.

in succession by his sons Pṛthivyāpīḍa, Saṁgrāmāpīḍa I and Jayāpīḍa. King Jayāpīḍa's rule is again succeeded by his sons Lalitāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmāpīḍa II. The next king who ruled Kashmir was Cippatajayāpīḍa, son of Lalitāpīḍa, and who was destroyed by his maternal uncles. They further put on the throne of Kashmir Ajitāpīḍa, a grand-son of king Vajrāditya-Bappiyaka. Kashmir was further ruled by Anaṅgāpīḍa, a son of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa II and Utpalāpīḍa, a son of Ajitāpīḍa.

Before forming any view it is necessary to determine the forces acting behind this change. Did this change become the practice for future kings of Kashmir superseding the old traditional ones? Was it a permanent change or short-lived? And did this change take place peacefully? The account of Kalhaṇa supplies answers to these questions. We can glean from his detailed narration that the change to the succession from brother to brother was certainly not a lasting one and hence should not be taken to have supplanted the prevalent traditional system according to primogeniture. This deviation worked out peacefully and in its entirety only during the Karkoṭa dynasty when the succession passed over to the next younger brother. Combining these facts we should infer that in agreement with Medieval Ceylon, the succession in Kashmir during the Karkoṭa dynasty only was from brother to brother. Writing on the law of succession in Medieval Ceylon Geiger observes: 'As to the right of succession, the rule was that the

next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne. Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation'.[1] It is not unimportant to note here that the second part of Geiger's observation regarding succession in medieval Ceylon, doesnot apply to Kashmir in the Karkoṭa period. Whereas in Ceylon as said above, at the non-existence of other brothers, the crown passed to the eldest son of the eldest brother, in Kashmir during the Karkoṭa time, the crown, as noticed above, passed to the eldest son of the last ruling brother.

During the period under survey, Kashmir was ruled on the whole, as the Genealogical Tables show, according to heredity and primogeniture. A change from this practice in few cases during this long period, resulting in a succession from brother to brother, was not regular and continuous as in the Karkoṭa period. This occasional change did not carry with it any marked principle but was a result of the rising influence of the Tantrins and Ekaṅgas, the ever-increasing power of the Dāmaras , the treason ever-ready at the imperial court, treacherous conduct of the mantrins, the ambitious designs of the queens and, specially, the lust for the

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[1] CV, vol. I, Introduction, p.XX.

throne . For most of this period the country was in the grip of civil war and such a deviation during the troubled time is but natural. The feeble character of some of the kings, especially the latter kings of the Utpala dynasty, and the absence of a natural heir to the throne, were no less important factors contributing towards this end.

The fact remains that royal succession in Kashmir was, as a general practice, in accordance with heredity and primogeniture, though physical fitness and noble character of the succeeding king seem to be essential conditions.[1] Should we infer from the accounts[2] of Pārtha and Utkarṣa, whom, in the face of opposition of the people and the ministers, Queen Sugandhā and King Kalaśa respectively had to crown against their wishes and the usual practice, that the rulers of Kashmir were not omnipotent in deciding their successors? The practice is echoed in the Jātaka, epic and the Smṛti literature.[3]

The accommodating nature of the Kashmirians is seen in the general absence of serious revolt or outburst of active and stormy opposition against the change from the usual practice of succession.

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[1] R.T., V, 250 sqq. Queen Sugandhā's wish to crown Nirjitavarman who was nicknamed Paṅgu 'the lame' and was of feeble character, was overruled by the combined opposition of the ministers and the Tantrins who put Pārtha, the child-son of Nirjitavarman on the throne.

[2] R.T., V, 251 sqq; VII, 703.

[3] Jātakas, I, 127, 395; II, 87, 116, 212; IV, 124, 176. Ramayaṇa, II, 110.36.

But this should not be taken to imply that the people were dumb-founded and not alive to their as well as the state's interests. They rose to the occasion to oppose any kind of succession that might seem injurious to the interests of their country. In agreement with the well known cases of opposition recorded in the Mahābhārata,[1] the Rājataraṅgiṇī also furnishes instances when the people were opposed to unusual succession. The earliest example is recorded in the legendary period. We learn that after the death of king Dāmodara I 'Kṛṣṇa, the descendant of Yadu, had the /king's/ pregnant widow Yaśovati installed on the throne by the Brāhmaṇas'. When some Brāhmaṇas grumbled at the coronation of a woman, writes Kalhaṇa, 'the slayer of Madhu /Kṛṣṇa/ appeased them by reciting this verse from the Nīlamatapurāṇa: 'Kaśmīr-land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires /his own/ prosperity, will not despise him.'[2]

The remonstrations and opposition offered by the ministers against the decisions of queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) and king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), to install their respective candidates have already been referred to. In these cases the ministers

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[1] Mahābhārata, I, 85, 17-35; V, 149, 14-29.

[2] R.T., I, 72.

and the discontented section succeeded in imposing their will on the ruling monarchs.

The arguments advanced by A.S. Altekar[1] to refute the view of R.C.Majumdar that the monarchy continued to be elective in certain states of India down to the 8th century A.D. do not appear convincing. His further contention that the elective principle was unknown in the Valley of Kashmir and that the historians of the twelfth century, i.e. Kalhaṇa, had strange feelings for it, shows that he has misunderstood the Chronicle. Admittedly the principle of hereditary succession in tune with primogeniture had taken a deep root in the Valley as elsewhere in India, but this does not completely exclude some form of elective principle. Whenever the situation demanded it as the following pages will show, the people responded and elected a king although there was, of course, no question of a modern type of election. In a state practising the rule of heredity in accordance with primogeniture, the occasion for some sort of election can only arise as a consequence of the absence of a natural heir, the premature death of the heir-apparent or of the ruling monarch, by sharp divisions within the state and other such allied occasions.

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[1] State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 80-84.

[2] Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 107-113.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to such instances when the people, in collaboration with the ministers, elected a king in response to the needs of the time. The exampleswill show that the Kashmirians had some voice in the choice of a king. We gather that Yudhiṣṭhira I, nicknamed Andha-Yudhiṣṭhira, the last king of the first Gonanda dynasty of the legendary period, was forced to abandonhis kingdom in view of the serious rising of the subjects and ministers, a rising caused by his capricious conduct.[1] After the departure of the king along with his household the choice of the people and ministers fell on Pratapāditya I.[2] The abdication of king Saṁdhimat Āryarāja which closes the second Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, offered another occasion to the people and the ministers to instal their selection on the throne of Kashmir. 'Then the subjects, guided by the ministers,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'proceeded to the land of Gandhāra and brought Meghavāhana whose fame shone afar'.[3]

Coming to the rule of the Utpala dynasty, we find that, after the extinction of the lineage of king Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), his queen Sugandhā assumed royal power at the bidding of the subjects'.[4] In her keenness to have the family continued,

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[1] R.T., I, 352 sqq.

[2] R.T., II, 5.

[3] R.T., III. 2. Meghavāhana is recorded (R.T. II, 144 sqq) as the son of Gopāditya and a great-grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira who was living in banishment at the court of the ruler of Gandhāra,

[4] R.T., V, 243.

she placed her hope on her daughter-in-law, Jayalakṣmī, a wife of Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-904), who was pregnant. But to her grief, the child died after its birth. What is of constitutional importance is the fact that queen Sugandhā, who was having the reins of the Government in her hand, convened an assembly of theministers (mantṛins), feudal chiefs (sāmantas), Tantrins and Ekāṅgas, in order to select a suitable successor.[1] There arose a conflict between the queen and all the others. Consequently, as against her wish to instal Nirjītavarman, they raised Pārtha,[2] the son of Nirjitavarman, to the throne. This clearly shows that the people, ministers, feudal chiefs and others had influence in the selection of a king. King Daśratha is also recorded to have summoned such an assemblage to announce the installation of Rāma, the obedient.[3] The fact is that the people did have some say in the selection of a king in Kashmir. Not long after this, we notice another such instance of election. King Unmattāvanti (A.D. 937-939), on

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[1] R.T., V, 250.

[2] Here is a case of a son ruling before the father. Pārtha ruled from A.D. 906-921, and after his overthrow his father Nirjitavarman ruled from A.D. 921to 923.

[3] Rāmāyana, II, I, 46-48. There is a difference of opinion on this pint. Whereas Altekar (State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 82-83) and N.N.Law (Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 51 sqq.) do not find any germs of elective principle, R.C. Majumdar (Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 107-110) scents the same in the passage.

his death, crowned Śūravarman II, a supposititious son. But this child-king enjoyed the realm only for a few days. Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief (kampanādhipati), on receiving the news through thespies, hastened to the capital from Maḍavarāja. He defeated the royal troops, whereupon the child-king was taken away by his mother. Kamalavardhana foolishly did not occupy the throne, but collecting all the Brāhmaṇas addressed them thus: 'Make a countryman of yours, strong and full-grown king'.[1] Sympathising with him, and issuing a note of advice, Kalhaṇa writes: 'Who is more to be pitied than he, who, having found a coy young woman alone in a solitary place and intoxicated, does not enjoy her owing to timorousness, but solicits her favours the next day through a messenger - or than he, who, having gained the power by force, lets it slide from his hands that moment, and strives for it on the next day through diplomacy?'[2] A. S. Altakar[3] has interpreted the sympathetic feelings of Kalhaṇa differently and holds that he considers strangely the procedure of election, which Kamalavardhana had suggested to the Brāhmaṇa community to resort to. Kalhaṇa does

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[1] R.T., V, 458.

[2] R.T., V, 459-460.

[3] State and Government in Ancient India, p.84.

not seem to regard the election procedure as strange but he attributes the action of Kamalavardhana to his political inability. It is only at the failure of Kamalavardhana to win the minds of the Brāhmaṇas that Kalhaṇa has given such a simile in which the Chronicler is adept. If the commander-in-chief had been successful in acceding to the throne, the narrative of Kalhaṇa would have been quite different. Kalhaṇa describes humourously the assemblyof the Brāhmaṇas in the following way: 'Long lasted the discussion as to the disposal of the crown, while those /Brāhmaṇas/ whose beards were scorched by smoke, wished to raise this man or that to the throne. While they disputed with each other, nobody received the water of inauguration. Only their own beards /were wetted/ by the spittings they ejected in their rough talk.'[1] As the debate of the Brāhmaṇas lasting for five or six days yielded no results, the Purohites of sacred places (pāriṣadya) began a solemn fast to enforce a decision. In the end, the Brāhmaṇas selected a Brāhmaṇa Yaśaskara[2] and not Śūravarman as A.S.Altekar[3] has pointed out. The prevalence of the will of the ministers, in the suc-

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[1] R.T., V, 462-463.

[2] R.T., V, 476-477.

[3] State and Government in Ancient India, p.84.

cession of a successor is further noticed in king Kalaśa's change of decision at the time of nominating his successor.[1] This case of succession of a younger brother (Utkarṣa) in preference to the elder one (Harṣa), raises another question. Could a prince ascend the throne by mere hereditary rights or was he required to possess qualifications befitting a king? It so seems that personal qualification was also an important factor in attaining kingship in Kashmir. M.B.Ariyapala, quoting similar cases of succession of a younger brother in preference to an elder one from the Medieval history of Ceylon, remarks: 'This example shows that a prince could not ascend the throne merely by right, but that he had to possess certain necessary qualifications demanded of a king'.[2] R. Mehta writes on this point thus: 'But we have instances which show that heredity was often not the sole support by which a prince could get on to the throne. He was thoroughly examined by the ministers, and if found worthy and capable, then only was he declared fit for kingship.'[3]

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[1] R.T., VII, 703.

[2] M.B.Ariyapala, Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p.55.

[3] R. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, p.101.

The foregoing instances from the history of Kashmir tend to prove some popular voice inthe election of a king, at least in special cases. Nothing would be more wrong than the inference that the idea of election was completely absent in the Valley. It existed side by side with that of hereditary monarchy. R.C. Majumdar,[1] quoting the examples of election in cases of king Rudradāman, Gopāla, and Harṣavardhana, has shown the existence of the elective principle in Ancient India as late as the eighth century A.D. Discussing the subject as a whole, V.R.R.Dikshitar writes: 'Even where the character of monarchy is hereditary, the principle of election appears in one form or o ther. In the very ceremony of consecration, we notice how the principle of election is an underlying factor... whatever it may be, election of a monarch was a settled idea and prevailed side by side with the hereditary notions of monarchy.... the office of the king was a creation of the people and the king held the throne conditionally, that is, under definite terms. Any violation of these agreed terms would lead to the banishment or deposition of the ruler.'[2] If we peep into the history of Ceylon, we shall notice the prevalence of elective principle like that in Kashmir, side by side with that

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[1] R.C.Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 112-113.

[2] Hindu Administrative Institutions, pp. 64-68.

of hereditary succession. M. B. Ariyapala[1] proves the hypothesis by quoting the cases from the history of Medieval Ceylon. Codrington[2] writes that 'where the succession was doubtful, the selection of the new monarch in practice lay with the principal ministers'. P.C.Dharma records his opinion on Ancient Indian Kingship thus: 'Kings were hereditary, as a rule. But the new kings could not succeed as a matter of right. They had to be formally elected by the people's Assembly. The kings succeeded one another by the law of primogeniture..... The succession of the eldest son to the throne of the father, unless he was disqualified, was the recognised rule..... The son must be a prince qualified to succeed, by his virtue and education..... Though it was the rule for the eldest son (unless disqualified) to succeed, d the consent and approval..... was necessary before he could be crowned.'[3]

The Kashmirian king wielded absolute powers as elsewhere in India. Divinity was attached to him. He was considered a part of Śiva. 'Kashmir-land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires his own prosperity, will not despise him.'[4] This verse from

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[1] Society in Medieval Ceylon, pp. 54-56.

[2] A Short History of Ceylon, p.179.

[3] The Rāmāyaṇa Polity, pp. 14, 15.

the Nīlamatapurāṇa was recited by Kṣṇa to appease some discontented Brāhmaṇas at the installation of Yaśovati, the pregnant widow of Dāmadara I. This would make Kashmir-land as an embodiment of Pārvatī a very part of Śiva in his ardhanārīśvara form. In other words there is complete oneness in Śiva, Pārvatī, the land of Kashmir and its King.

The usual custom was to appoint the eldest son of the king as Yuvrāja and on the death of the king he received the water of inauguration (abhiṣeka), poured out from golden jars with face turned eastwards on a golden throne, in the presence of ministers (mantrins), feudal chiefs (sāmantas), high-ranking officials and the Brāhmaṇas.[1] During the infancy, the queen mothers, if they didn't become satī, or some elderly relative acted as regent.[2] With the object of assuring the safety of the infant heir and his subsequent reign, it was customary to place the child in the arms of an elderly relative and to perform the abhiṣeka for both together.[3] The Kashmirian king received a very high education in politics, history, śāstras etc. Kalhaṇa acquaints us through a conversatinn which he in his

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[1] R.T., III, 102, 328, 529; V, 129-134; VI, 355; VII, 1385, VIII; 539.

[2] R.T., V, 220-222, 228.

[3] R.T., VIII, 371.

[4] R.T., IV, 489-490; VI, 290; VII, 941.

Chronicle[1] arranges between king Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) and his son Gopālavarman, that a very hard training was imparted to the prince in weapons (saṣtrās) and horse-riding enabling him to face the problems of kingship bravely and successfully.

Women continued to be respected during our period, rather there seems to have been an improvement in her position. We had occasions to refer to the recognition of the right of women to rule Kashmir in the case of queen Yaśovatī of the legendary period which clearly shows that the Kashmirians had started looking at women, as Kalhaṇa informs us, with great respect and not merely as an 'object of enjoyment' since very early period. Coming to our times we see that queen Sugandhā after being entrusted with the young son Gopālavarman by her husband Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) ruled Kashmir as guardian from A.D. 902-904 and after the death of Gopālavarman caused by witchcraft, when the lineage of Saṁkaravarman died out, she assumed the royal power (AD.904-906) at the bidding of the subjects.[2] Queen Diddā, after the death of her husband Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958),managed the affairs of the state for close on half

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[1] R.T., V, 182-203.

[2] R.T., V, 220-262.

a century, first as a regent to his sons and grandsons and then as a real ruler (A.D. 980/1-1003) and eventually raised Saṁgrāmarāja, the son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara, to the rank of yuvarāja.[1] Thus started the rule of the Loharas in Kashmir when in A.D. 1003, after the death of Diddā, Saṁgrāmarāja ascended the throne. Kalhaṇa refers to the domination of queen Sūryamatī over king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) and consequently her taking over the king's business inhand. She, using her good offices, brought peace and stability to the country.[2] Jayamatī, the queen of king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) secured, through the king's fond attachment, the rare privilege of occupying one half of his throne.[3] The Rājataraṅgiṇī also abounds in instances referring to ladies of the king's seraglio playing an important role in state affairs especially in matters of succession. But Kalhaṇa shuns their part played in palace intrigues. The crowning of Lothaṇa, Sussala's brother, to the throne of Lohara in A.D. 1130 was the result of a successful conspiracy which carried important support from some royal ladies.[4] Kalhaṇikā, the queen of Jayasiṁha

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[1] R.T., VI, 188 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 144 sqq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 82.

[4] R.T., VIII, 1820 sqq.

(A.D. 1128-1149), who also acted as a mediator in setting the quarrel between Jayasiṁha and Bhoja, contributed enough to the prosperity of the land.[1] Queen Raḍḍadevī, a pious lady, had enormous influence on king Jayasiṁha and Kalhaṇa records that 'owing to the constant attachment of the king, the punishment or reward even of princes depends immediately and without fail upon her will'.[2] The mother of king Jayasiṁha and Mallārjuna is recorded to have gone on a political mission in an endeavour to bring about reconciliation between the two brothers.[3]

We do not read of any woman occupying any ministerial post during our period. But earlier the Karkoṭa king Jayāpīḍa is recorded to have appointed his queen Kalyāṇadevī to the office of chief chamberlain (mahāpratihārapīḍa).[4] Sometimes women held by their right estates independantly as Kalhaṇa records of a Ḍāmara lady from Nīlaśva who remained faithful to king Jayasiṁha at the time of Bhoja's revolt.[5]

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[1] R.T., VIII, 3063-71, 3096-3106, 3118.

[2] R.T., VIII, 3393.

[3] R.T., VIII, 1968-70.

[4] R.T., IV, 485.

[5] R.T., VIII, 3115.

Women, in general, do not seem to have entered military professions. But the wives of the Ḍāmaras are recorded to have been proficient in warfare and fought at the head of their troops. In addition to the Ḍāmara lady from Nīlāśva already referred to, we have examples of Chuḍḍā the wife of Ḍāmara Gargacandra and Sillā the mother of Ḍāmara Vijaya who lost their lives while fighting.[1]

But on the whole, women were confined to home and were required to lead a role of a chaste and faithful wife. Like every Indian woman, the Kashmiri woman's early life was spent under the guardianship of the parents, after marriage she was supposed to live under obedience and complete control of her husband and her in-laws, at least she had the satisfaction of controlling home affairs when she herself became the head of the house (mother or mother-in-law). In a joint family system, she as a mother had complete control over household and claimed obedience. Kṣemendra goes as far as to say that the mother's position is superior to that of a guru.[2] Highest respect was given to a mother in the Gāhaḍvala kingdom as well, as Lakṣmidhara quoting Baudhāyana and Gautama recommends that a son may abandon the father who imparts instructions to Śūdras and accepts money

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1137, 1069.

[2] Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā (Ed. Das.), p.761.

from them for observing his own sacrifices or of the Śūdras, who kills the king and embryos and lives with low caste people or cohabits with a low caste female, but not the mother even if she is excommunicated.[1] In Kashmir, under the joint family system, many members including grand-mother, grand-father, mother, father, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, grand-sons and daughters and perhaps some others lived under the same roof. The Sukranītisara records: 'The chaste wife, step-mother, mother, daughter, father, widowed daughter or sister who has no offspring, aunt, brother's wife, sister, father or mother, grandfather, preceptor who has no son, father-in-law, uncles, grandson who is young and orphan, brother, sister's son - these must be maintained carefully to the best of one's ability even under adverse circumstances.'[2] Sukra's list of the members is too comprehensive to maintain and may cause frequent quarrels and bitter feelings among the members. Sometimes the mothers took undue advantage of their position as Kalhaṇa records that Sūryamatī, the queen of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) had deep feelings of love for her son Kalaśa but later became disaffected and embittered and in her jealousy she made the son's wives constantly do the work of a slave-girl,

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[1] Grhasthakāṇḍa, p.421.

[2] Sukranītisāra (Ed. Sarkar), III, 243-48.

until 'they did not refuse to do even the smearing of the house-floor with cow-dung etc.'[1] King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) is described as very sexy and licentious and Kalhaṇa records the story of how the king once went to the house of Jindurāja where the latter's daughter-in-law, living in a joint family, had given an appointment to the king.[2]

Women were supposed to lead a chaste life. Devotion to their husbands is the duty of wives.[3] It was desired of her to remain faithful to a single man.[4] Bilhaṇa gives a print of the housewife who has strong feelings of devotion and attachment for her husband, respect for the superiors and love for the young ones, dependants and other relatives. She is friendly to her co-wives and scrupulously observes the vratas.[5] Kalhaṇa looks contemptuously towards unchaste and unfaithful wives and records stories of such wives with great regret and scorn. Referring to the secret love affair which Anaṅgalekhā, the wife of king Durlabha-vardhana had developed with the minister Khaṅkha, he says; 'For a wife who has sold her mind to /illicit/ love, generally betrays the change /brought about/ by the intrusion of the demon of immorality. Among her companions she smiles secretly; her colour changes when she sees her husband; getting up quite unexpectedly

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[1] R.T., VII, 248-250.

[2] R.T., VII, 307-313.

[3] R.T., II, 48; Kathasaritsāgara, vol. I, p.164.

[4] R.T., V, 8.

[5] Quoted, B.P.Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.142.

she looks with a smile on the roads; when her husband is angry she indicates contempt by movement of her brows, eyes and chin; when he uses harsh words, she looks down with a smile; she cares nothing for those whose character is like his, but enjoys the praise of his opponents; when noticing that he wishes to enjoy himself with her, she engages in a conversation with her companions; when he kisses her she bends down her neck; she does not yield her body to his arms; in his love-embrace she shows no pleasure, and on his bed she feigns to be asleep'.[1] Durlabhavardhana caught them redhanded one night and found his wife overpowered by sleep which was brought on by the exertions of the game of sex, and fixed on the body of her parmour. He wished to strike her but checked his fury and acting as a mouthpiece of Kalhaṇa thought thus: 'Fie on these miserable /women/ who are the slaves of their active passions and devoid of reflection, and who quickly drag men down /to hell/. That /thing/ which is called "women" is the object of sense, like the other objects of senses (indriyārtha). As such they are common to all. Why should self-controlled persons feel angry about them?'[2] At another place Kalhaṇa makes the following stinging attack: 'The Creator has, as it were, because there is no room in the heart of women for good conduct (suvṛtta), put outside

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[1] R.T., III, 501-505.

[2] R.T., III, 513-514.

them their well-rounded (suvṛtta) breasts. The Creator has made women who are pure in their outward /appearance/, women, because he knew that their conduct was the same whether they attached themselves to the highest or the lowest.'[1]

Elsewhere we have referred to different subjects which were taught to the girls. Bilhaṇa proudly refers to the women of hisnative land as proficient in Sanskrit and Prākrit.[2] Perhaps, girls were married in their teenage though we do not possess any reliable information on the subject. Inappropriate union such as the marriage of a young girl with an old man was considered highly objectionable. Kṣemendra ridicules such a marriage and in the seventh Upadeśa of his Deśopadeśa, he, with sarcastic humour, gives an interesting but life-like description of an old man's marriage with a young damsel, which results in the sad condition of the former. 'His wooing of the young girl is as useless as the craving of a miser for gold.' She being put to shame at the sight of that old hag reproaches him saying that he really deserves the epithet of her grand-papa. The old man partakes of highly efficacious medicines in order to rejuvenate himself. As chance would have it, his wife begets a child which is suspected by all to be natural. The relatives and the neighbouring ladies are

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[1] R.T., VI, 75-76.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 6.

invited at the celebration of the child-birth. All present give their blessings to her and with sarcastic smiles admire the unusual strength of the dotard husband and sing thus:

'Come at once, O God, to see
What wonders are brought by Thee
Withered and leafless tree doth yield
Unexpected fruit in field.'

As the practice of Satī was widespread in Kashmir during the period under question, for a woman the death of a husband meant the end of the world. The prevalence of the practice of satī in Kashmir can be traced to an early period though it does not appear to have been universally practised then. Kalhaṇa records that after the death of Tuñjīna I, the pious king of the legendary period, his noble-minded queen freed herself 'in the flames of the pyre which to her were like a bed-cover formed of lotus-fibres'.[1] Kalhaṇa records a story of a Brāhmaṇa woman whose husband's life had been taken by someone by the use of witchcraft. She approached king Candrāpīḍa to get the suspected culprit punished and tells the king that she did not follow her husband to death as she is anxious for retaliation on the murderer.[2] This shows that the practice was followed by the Brāhmaṇa ladies also at an early date.

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[1] R.T., II, 56.

[2] R.T., IV, 82 sqq.

From the ninth century onwards the institution of satī received much momentum in Kashmir as elsewhere in India,[1] and the practice became widespread. A comparative study of all the cases of satī furnished in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, tends to show tha it was voluntary on the part of women and no physical force was applied to make them become satī. The only fear that pressured them to burn themselves along with their husbands was the reproaches and contempt of society, as also the miserable condition of a widow[2] who was required to lead a very simple life of complete chastity with no ornaments or good dress.[3] She must relinquish

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[1] A. S. Altekar, Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p.143.

[2] Alberuni (Sachau, vol. II, p.155) was well-informed about the position of Indian widows and his statement is in accord with the conditions in Kashmir. He writes: 'If a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things - either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventually is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives. As regards the wives of the kings, they are in the habit of burning them, whether they wish it or not, by which theydesire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband. They make an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who have children; for the son is the responsible protector of his mother.'

[3] R.T., VIII, 1969.

all her previous enjoyments and is not supposed to indulge in sensual pleasures. Kalhaṇa pours down much contempt and scorn on queens Sugandhā and Diddā who did not become satī and enjoyed sensual pleasures with ministers. Kalhaṇadoes not forget to mention an honourable way by which a woman could be saved from becoming satī and that is by putting pressure on her by the relatives not to do so and the Chronicler does not hide the fact that sometimes the queens bribed the ministers to come to the burning ground to pressure them against becoming satī. The death of a king when the heir to the throne is infant put the chief favourite queen in an advantageous position, thus giving her a good excuse to live to look after the child king. Sometimes when a woman failed to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, a separate pyre was arranged for her for the purpose.[1] It is difficult to measure the exact extent of the prevalence of the practice of satī in Kashmir during the period under survey. Judging from its widish acceptance by the royal families, households of the ministers and from other scattered references in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, it can be guessed with fair certainty that the practice was followed by the Kashmirians of all rank and file.

After the death of king Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), Surendravatī and two other queens became satī.[2] Queen Sugandhā lived for the

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[1] R.T., VIII, 363-364.

[2] R.T., V, 226.

protection of her son Gopālavarman who was yet a child. It is interesting to read that two servants named Lāḍa and Vajrasāra and one Jayasiṁha, a favourite (vēlavitta) followed the king to death.[1] King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948) was followed to death by his single queen Trailokyadevī.[2] Kalhaṇa refers praisingly to the noble conduct of another queen of Yaśaskara's seraglio, who did not become satī. When the minister Parvagupta became king and asked her favours she practising a pious fraud said: 'When the construction of this temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin, which my husband left on his death half-finished, is completed, I shall for certain and without fail accord your desire.'[3] When Parvagupta completed the temple in a few days she sacrificed her body in a sacrificial fire which made Kalhaṇa remark: 'Upon her who had sacrificed her life, there fell in abundance showers of flowers, and upon him who lusted after her, there fell words pouring forth reproach.'[4] Kalhaṇa informs us how queen Diddā who wished to become satī but felt regret in front of the funeral pyre and was saved from seeking death by persistent remonstrances of the minister Naravāhana.[5]

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[1] R.T., V, 227.

[2] R.T., VI, 107.

[3] R.T., VI, 140-141.

[4] R.T., VI, 144.

[5] R.T., VI, 195-196.

With the Khaśas of Lohara coming to rule over Kashmir, the cases of satī become legion. Queen Sūryamatī became satī after the death of king Ananta (.A.D 1028-1063).[1] Gaṅgadhara, Takkibuddha, and the litter-carrier Daṇḍaka; and Uddā, Nonikā and Valgā among the female servants followed the queen.[2] At the deathof King Kalaśa(A.D. 1063-1089), Mammanikā and six other queens together with a concubine Jayamatī became satī.[3] Whereas Kalhaṇa praises the conduct of Jayamatī, he ridicules that of a favourite concubine Kayyā. If she forgot that king Kalaśa had given her the foremost position in the whole seraglio, no matter, let her forget it, as she was of low origin. 'But what causes us pain', writes Kalhaṇa complainingly, 'that she, subsequently residing near Vijayakṣetra, became the concubine of a village official. Herbody, which a king had enjoyed, and which continued comforts had beautified, she yieldsd up to a villager. Shame upon women of lowly mind!'[4] But the Chronicler showers all kinds of praise on her other classmate, the concubine Sahajā of king Utkarṣa, who after the latter's death 'made her

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[1] R.T., VII, 471-480.

[2] R.T., VII, 481.

[3] R.T., VII, 724.

[4] R.T., VII, 726-728.

love shine forth brilliantly, just as if it were gold, by entering the pyre after smearing thickly over her limbs the blood of her lover, which resembled liquified red chalk (gairika).'[1] Queens Bijjalā and Jayamatī became satī after the death of king Uccala (A.D. 1101)1111).[2]

The practice of satī was not only confined to the royal household but was followed by the families of ministers and other officials. We learn that Bimhā who belonged to the Śāhi family and was married to the son of Tuṅga, the commanderin-in-chief of king Saṁgramarāja (A.D. 1003 to 1028) became satī after the death of her husband.[3] At the death of Malla, the father of Uccala and Sussala, his princely consort Kumudalekha and his wife's sister Vallabhā became satī. Other members of the family who immolated themselves on the same pyre, mention may be made of two daughters-in-law of Malla named Āsamatī and Sahajā and six female attendants of the household.[4] Nandā, the wife of Malla and mother of future kings Uccala and Sussala, also became satī along with her nurse Cāndrī.[5] Bhogosena, the chief justice

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[1] R.T., VII, 859.

[2] R.T., VIII, 367-368.

[3] R.T., VII, 103.

[4] R.T., VII, 1487-1488.

[5] R.T., VII, 1490-1494.

(rājasthānādhikāra) of king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) was followed to death by his wife Mallā.[1]

In Kashmir, sometimes proud mothers and sisters[2] immolated themselves as satī. Kalhaṇa pleasurably records that after the death of Ananda, the governor (maṇḍaleśa) under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1111), 'Gajja, his mother, ascended the pyre and thereby paid homage to herown noble character as one of those virtuous women who have borne sons worthy of praise for devotion to their lord's service'.[3]

The practice of satī does not appear to have been prevalent among the Ḍāmara class. In a passage Kalhaṇa praises the wife of the Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka who becomes satī, and contrasts her conduct with other Ḍāmara women who did not pay much regard for their character as widows. Kalhaṇa very clearly attributes her exceptional act of becoming satī, to her noble descent from a Rājpūt family.[4]

Elsewhere, we have discussed the institution of devadāsī and the class of prostitutes which formed a distinct social unit in Kashmir of our period.

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[1] R.T., VIII, 445.

[2] R.T., VIII, 448.

[3] R.T., VII, 1380.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2334 sqq.

Kashmir has been a seat of great learning since ancient times. It was regarded as an abode of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning. In his description of Pravarapura (Śrīnagar) Bilhaṇa writes: 'What shall I say about that city, the native place of the goddess of learning, which is a repository of curiosities and provides nectar to ears by many stories of strange merits, where in every house Sanskrit and Prākrit words sound charming like the mother-tongue of even women, not to speak of others.'[1] Kalhaṇa writes with patriotic pride: 'Learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes: things that even in heaven are difficult to find, are common there.'[2] Kashmir was so famed for its learning that scholars and students from China, Central Asia, Tibet and Ladakh visited Kashmir to take lessons in Buddhist lore. The names of Huien Tsang and Ou-K'ong stand foremost and their accounts evidently mention Kashmir as a place where learning is held in great respect and that the people are well instructed.[3] Huien Tsang in his account recollects with evident relish the learned conferences he had with the Kashmirian doctors of the sacred law. The leading part played by the Kashmirians in the

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 6.

[2] R.T., I, 42.

[3] Si-yu-ki, vol. I, pp. 148 sqq. L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong, p.356.

transmission of the Buddhist literature and traditions to Central Asia, China and to the Far East is well known to the students of history. Not only during the early centuries of the Christian era but also during the period under review, scores of Kashmirian Buddhist Masters went to China in the task of disseminating Buddhist culture. These Kashmirians 'served as the torch-bearers of Indian culture, preached Buddhism, translated Buddhist canons into foreign languages, performed religious ceremonies and prayed for the good of those countries'.[1] Of those who went in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era reference may be made of Saṅgabhūti, Gautama Saṅghadeva, Dharmapriya, Saṅgharakṣa, Dharmayaśas, Puṇyatārā, Vimalākṣa, Buddhayaśas, Buddhajīva, Dharmamitra, Gunavarman and so forth.[2] Those who went in the seventh century A.D., we may mentinn the names of Buddhapāla (A.D.676),[3] Ratnacintā[4] and Arjuna (A.D. 635-713).[5]

The Kashmirian scholars of our period kept the torch burning. A Kashmirian Master T'ien-hsi-tsai, renamed as Dharmabhadra

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[1] Jan Yuan Hua,'Kashmir's Contribution to the expansion of Buddhism in the Far East; Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XXXVII, No. I, p.194.

[2] For their life and works, P.C.Bagchi, India and China, pp. 338-370.

[3] C.B.C., vol. I, pp. 160 sqq.
C.B.C., vol. II, p.513; F.T.T.C, 46; T49, p.417C.

[4] H.Ob, p.139a.

[5] C.B.C, II, p.528.

(A.D. 1000) went to K'ai-feng, the capital of the Sung empire and translated one hundred and odd canons into Chinese, and was highly honoured by the ruler of the Sung dynasty. Another Kashmirian monk Dharmapāla (A.D.963-1058) went to China and worked there in 1003-1058.[1] We may include Mu-lo-shih-chi who went to China with presentation of Sanskrit manuscripts and the leaf of Bodhi-tree.[2]

The works of the Kashmirian Masters in China and Far Eastern countries involved both translations and religious practices. Jan Yun Hua writes that 'the activities of Kashmirian Buddhist Masters in China flourished during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. Their mission was once again revived in the seventh and early decades of the eighth century. After another interruption of two hundred and odd years, their activities once again came into the picture during the last quarter of the tenth and first half of the eleventh century. Their contribution on translation of Buddhist canons was mainly in the fields of Āgama. They were also responsible for transmission of Buddhist metaphysical philosophy as found in Abhidharma collection to China and the Far East. Their contribution in translation of Vinaya-piṭaka was outstanding. Besides these, they also

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[1] I.H.Q., vol. XXXVII, No. I, p.98.

[2] F.T.C.C., 44. T49, p.402c.

translated other works of different catagories. Their translatinn of Tantric texts during the tenth and eleventh centuries are very significant. Their contribution on religious practices was mainly concentrated on monastic discipline and on Buddhist meditation.[1]

Some of the Kashmirian kings were good scholars and they patronised learning. The Karkoṭa king Jayāpiḍa was learned (pandita) and by receiving instructions from a master of grammatical science, called Kṣīra, he gained distinction with the wise.[2] Kalhaṇa informs us that by bringing from abroad competent expositors, King Jayāpiḍa restored in Kashmir the study of the Mahābhāsya which had been interrupted.[3] The learned Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa was Sabhāpati (chief pandit) of this king.[4] He appointed Dāmodaragupta, the author of the Kuṭṭanimatakāvya as his chief councillor.[5] Manoratha, Śaṅkadanta, Caṭaka and Saṁdhimat were some of the poets that lent charm to his court.[6]

King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) highly patronised learning and it is said that the scholars who were highly honoured

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[1] Jan Yun Hua, I.H.Q., vol. XXXVII, No. 1, p.10.

[2] R.T., IV, 489 sqq.

[3] R.T., IV, 488.

[4] R.T., IV, 495.

[5] R.T., IV, 496.

[6] R.T., IV, 497.

proceeded to his sabhā in litters worthy of kings.[1] The poets who received great favours from this king, Kalhaṇa[2] mentions, Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, Anandavardhana and Ratnākara. Anandavardhana is the author of two extant works, the Dhvanyāloka and Deviśatakā.[3] Ratnākara is identified with the author of the kāvya Haravijaya.[4] Two other smaller compositions are attached to Ratnākara.[5] Muktākaṇa is known from quotations in Kṣemendra's two treatises.[6] Sivasvāmin may perhaps be identified with the poet whose verses occur in Kṣemendra's Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa.[7] At this time Bhaṭṭ Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, the founder of the Spandaśāstra branchof the Kashmirian Śaiva philosophy 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people'.[8] He wrote a commentary called Spandasarvasva on his teacher's Spandakārika which is extant.[9] He seems to have written another exegetical

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[1] R.T., V, 32-33.

[2] R.T., V, 34.

[3] Report, p.65.

[4] Report, p.42 sqq.

[5] Report, p.66.

[6] Cat.Catalog., p.459.

[7] Cat.Catalog., p.654; Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.189 note.

[8] R.T., V, 66.

[9] Report, pp. 78 sqq.

work on the Śivasūtra of Vasugupta.[1] Of other great poets and Śaiva philosophers who flourished before the Lohara dynasty mention may be made of Jayanta Bhatta, Abhinanda, the author of Kādambrī Kathasāra, a summary of Bāṇa's prose romance, Somānanda and Mahāmaheśvara Abhinavagupta, the teacher of Kṣemendra. Abhinavagupta was a great philosopher teacher and is said to have written as many as forty one books.[2] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. there flourished in Kashmir such reputable poets as Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa. Kṣemendra flourished and wrote most of his works during the reign of king Ananta (A.D.1028-1063). Bilhaṇa's literary career covers the reign of kingAnanta, Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). And Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa flourished during the reign of king Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149).

The kings of the Lohara dynasty were learned and they encouraged learning. Bilhaṇa describes Ananta and Kalaśa as good scholars and of fine taste.[3] But king Harṣa who surpassed all was a prolific scholar, a great poet, lover of music and a great patron of men of learning. Bilhaṇa writes that who was not delighted

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[1] Report, p.clxviii; Stein, Catalogue of Jammu Manuscripts, p.361.

[2] For complete list, K.C.Pande, Abhinavagupta, An Historical and Philosophical study.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 48, 56.

by king Harṣa who 'possessed of greater poetical ability than even Śrīharṣa, who in battles whetted his sword, blunted by friction of the crest-jewels of kings, on his own golden bracelet. He had a peculiar maturity in the use of words in the deliberation relating to Yogic practices, his cleverness of speech being displayed silence was the resort of the rival scholars; again, that poetical ability of his in all the languages is renowned in the three worlds; which being tasted even sugar becomes coarse like sand'.[1] Kalhaṇa also describes king Harṣaas a master of different languages, a good poet in all tongues and a depository of all learning.[2] He was the crest-jewel of the learned and Kalhaṇa informsus that he adorned men of learning with jewels and bestowed upon them the privileges of using litters, horses, parasols etc.[3] Bilhaṇa who had been made chief Paṇḍit (vidyāpati) by the lord of Karṇāṭa, when travelling on elephants through the hill country of Karṇāṭa, his parasol was borne aloft before the king, even he when he heard that the liberal Harṣa was like a kinsman to true poets, thought his own great

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 64-65.

[2] R.T. VII, 610.

[3] R.T., VII, 934.

splendour a deception.[1] King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) was also a great patron of learning and is said to have established a permanent endowment for all the temples and the maṭhas which were raised in his own time.[2] He highly honoured men of learning and granted them houses and villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields.[3] On the king's piousness Kalhaṇa remarks: 'Safe is the journey for scholars who follow him as their caravan-leaders on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge'.[4]

As everywhere in India, the Vihāras and Maṭhas of Kashmir imparted education. A study of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that not only the kings but some queens and the ministers as well constructed numerous vihāras and maṭhas. The vihāras of Kashmir imparted lessons in Buddhist learning both to the Kashmirians and foreign students. They were great centres of Buddhist learning and attracted foreign students in great number. Hiuen Tsang's stay of two years in Kashmir was passed in the study of 'the Sūtras and Śāstras'. He was lodged in the Jayendravihāra. Ou-K'ong who reached Kashmir in A.D.759, spent four years in the Valley, undertaking pilgrimages to holy sites and studying Sanskrit.

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[1] R.T., VII, 935-37.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2401.

[3] R.T., VIII, 395.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2397.

The number of such foreign students can be multiplied.

Many vihāras were constructed during our period. These Buddhist monastries received the name of the founder with the addition of -vihāra or -bhavana. Of the notable vihāras, reference may be made of Diddāvihāra, Cankuṇavihāra, Jayendravihāra, Amṛtabhavana, Skandabhavana, Indradevībhavana, Ratnadevīvihāra, Sullavihāra, Bijjavihāra etc. etc.[1] The Amṛtabhavana was said to have been constructed for the benefit of foreign Bhikṣus.[2] The Diddāvihāra served as an abode for the Kashmirians and foreigners (daiśika).[3]

These Buddhist educational institutions were maintained by royal patronage extended in the form of endowments and the agrahāras. In addition to teaching work, many texts were written in these vihāras. Kṣemendra informs us that he wrote Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā in a cave convent. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries many Mahāyāna works were translated into Tibetan in the Ratnagupta and Ratnaraśmi vihāras of Kashmir.[4] Some learned Kashmirian teachers served outside Kashmir. We learn that the university of Vikramasila had learned teachers like Śākyaśrī from Kashmir, Ratnakīrti, Vairochana, Kanakaśrī and Buddhaśrī from Nepal.[5] Many Kashmirian scholars went to Tibet and China. Dīpaṁkara

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[1] R.T., III, 9, 13, 355, 380; IV, 211, 215; VI, 303, VII, 121; VIII, 246, 580, 1172, 2402, 2410, 2415, 2417, 2431, 3318, 3343, 3344, 3352.

[2] R.T., III, 9.

[3] R.T., VI, 303.

Śrījñāna, Pandit Somanāth, Lakṣmīṁkara, Dānaśrī, Chandrarāhula, Gayādhara, Pha-dam-pa-sangs-gyars, Mitrayogī, Śākyaśrī and many other scholars went to Tibet between A.D. 1027-1223. Of these Somanāth and Śākyáśrī hailed from Kashmir.[1] We learn that between 958 and 1055 A.D. about twenty one Tibetan students studied in Kashmir. The Tibetan scholar Blo-Idan-sesa-rab (A.D.1059-1108) studied at Kashmir under the well-known teachers Parahitabhadra and Bhavyarāja.[2] Recognising the great educative and cultural values of travelling, Dāmodaragupta calls those who are not travelled and are ignorant of the customs, manners and character of foreign people, bulls without horns.[3]

The mathas imparted knowledge in Hindu learning. The practice of founding the mathas is very old in Kashmir but it received a great fillip during the period under survey when the kings founded mathas in great numbers and granted agrahāras for their maintenance or established permanent endowments. It is noteworthy that numerous mathas were founded and endowed by queens, princesses, ministers and kāyasthas as well. In most of

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[4] Struggle for Empire, p.420.

[5] B.P.Majumdar, J.B.R.S., Sept. Issue, 1956, p.182.

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[1] Rahula Sankrityayana, Tibbat me Bauddhadharma., pp. 25-30.

[2] Rahula Sankrityayana, Tibbat me Bauddhadharma, pp. 22-23, 29.

[3] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 211.

these maṭhas there seems to have been residential arrangements for teachers and students whose expenses were met by the agrahāra lands. A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that maṭhas of Kashmir not only served as schools but also as guest houses and residences for the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics. A passage occurring in the Rājataraṅgiṇī is instructive. It says that king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) founded a maṭha for students from Aryadeśa, and gave to the superintendent (maṭhādipati) the royal insignia resplendent with umbrellas and chowries and almost all his wealth.[1] This shows that the maṭhas were administered by a preceptor and he was a sole master of the whole trust of the maṭha, incurring expenditure in furtherance of the object of the institution in his own way. Perhaps during his lifetime the maṭhādipati selected one of his competent affiliated disciples to succeed him after his demise, or after the death of the maṭhādipati the students elected one from among themselves or the king appointed the successor.

As the temples and maṭhas were both founded with the same religious motive, we find that maṭhas accompanied the establishment of temples. We hardly find any doner who founded a temple and not a maṭha along with it. Sometimes the temples were con-

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[1] R.T., VI, 87-88.

structed within maṭhas. The maṭha founded by minister Maṅkha of king Jayasiṁha, had many Śiva lingas and images.[1] It is seen that temples and maṭhas have been supplementary to each other, both ministering to the religious and spiritual needs of the people. Kalhaṇa records that in the time of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) the post of a reciter in the temple of Mahodyasvāmin was given to a teacher called Rāmaṭa who specialised in grammatical science.[2] This was so in some maṭhas outside Kashmir as well. Bāṇa points to the recitation of the Mahābhārta in the temple of Mahakāla at Ujjayinī. In this connection the Agnipurāṇa[3] avers that one, by reading a book in a temple of Viṣṇu, Śiva or the Sun, may earn the merit of the imparting of all knowledge.

The maṭhas of Kashmir attracted students from distant lands. We have referred to a maṭha founded by king Yaśaskara for students from Aryadeśa. King Jayasiṁha founded a maṭha of great merit named Siṁhapura and endowed it with many villages. It accommodated Brāhmaṇas from the Indus region and numerous Draviḍas.[4]

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[1] R.T., VIII, 3354, 3359.

[2] R.T., V, 28-29.

[3] Agnipurāṇa, 211, 57.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2443-2444.

Diddā founded under her own name a maṭha for the residence of people from Madhyadeśa, Lāta etc.[1] Under the name of her father Siṁharāja, she established another maṭha for the residence of foreign Brāhmaṇas.[2] The maṭhas of Kashmir became so reputed for its learning as to attract students from distant Gauḍa becomes evident from the account of Kṣemendra who curiously enough, draws a satiric picture of a Gauḍīya student in Kashmir and exposes his sins and evil manners. He is described as lean and weak at his arrival but gathers strength and becomes fattish under the genial climate of Kashmir. Though he cannot pronounce the word Om, he tries to engage in contests with the learned Kashmirians and pretends to undertake the study of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. He wears variegated dress and fashionable peacock shoes that produce a cracking noise. He is a man of loose conduct and frequents houses of prostitutes and looks with lust at others's wives. After wearing triple made golden ear rings and large finger rings he thinks himself not less than kuvera. His five spoilers are the gamblers, the bawd, the prostitute, the leatherworker and the barber. Strangely enough, the Gauḍa student figures in the list of rogues and cheats satirized by Kṣemendra in his Deśopadeśa. It is hard to believe

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[1] R.T., VI, 300.

[2] R.T., VI, 304.

that every student behaved like the one Kṣemendra portrays. Perhaps Kṣemendra had a personal knowledge of such a student and wants to serve a reminder to the readers that at all times and in every country the educational institutions were full of good and bad students - if some made mark by their scholarship and good conduct in foreign lands, there were others who squandered the money of their parents.

Judging from theliberal grant of agrahāras and permanent endowments attached to the maṭhas we can reasonably infer that the economic condition of the teachers was good in Kashmir. The main subjects of study were the Vedas, Epics, Śāstras, Mahābhaṣya of Patanjali, Tarka, Mīmāṁsā work of Prabhakara, grammar, history, astrology etc. Giving a description of his home village, Bilhaṇa highly praises his ancestors as being versed in the four Vedas and Śāstras and credits his father Jyeṣṭhakalaśa with the compilation of a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya.[1] The children started their study, most probably at the age of five after the Upanayana ceremony.[2] The knowledge of Sanskrit was considered highly desirable as Kalhaṇa ridicules king Saṁkara-varman (A.D.883-902 who did not speak the language of the gods

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 79.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 81.

among men i.e. Sanskrit but used vulgar speech (apabhraṁsa) fit for drunkards.[1]

In Kashmir, the term maṭha was sometimes used in the sense of a hospice. There were maṭhas which were exclusively meant for the Paśupatas.[2] We have already mentioned certain maṭhas which were specially founded for the residence of the foreigners. During the reign of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) a kāyastha Utpāla is said to have founded a maṭha for the blind.[3] The maṭha which king Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) founded in honour of his queen Chandala, was provided with ample means, from whose door no guest was turned back.[4] Udaya, the lord of the gate of king Jayasiṁha constructed a splendid maṭha along with numerous Brahmapurīs.[5] Alaṁkara, the superintendent of the great treasury (bṛhadgañja) is recorded to have founded maṭhas and Brahmapurīs.[6] The term Brahmapurī designates some pious foundation and perhaps corresponds to modern Dharmasāla,

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[1] R.T., V, 206.

[2] R.T., III, 460.

[3] R.T., VII, 149.

[4] R.T., VIII, 3320.

[5] R.T., VIII, 2421.

[6] R.T., VIII, 2423.

or place of residence of Brāhmaṇas. It is also the name of Brahman's city where the wise and pious assemble.[1] We also read of other maṭhas which were founded for the residence of ascetics and Brāhmaṇas. According to Skandapurāṇa,[2] quoted in the Dāna candrikā, a man gets all his desires fulfilled and if he has no desires he earns release from saṁsara, if he grants at some auspicious time to Brāhmaṇas or ascetics, a maṭha which is equipped with cots, platform and seats and is thatched with grass.

Side by side, the old institution of the Brāhmaṇa guru teaching the students at his residence or in the house of one of the householders continued during ourperiod. Tracing the ancestry of king Yaśaskara Kalhaṇa records that his grandfather Kāmadeva was distinguished by good qualities and having acquired a knowledge of the Akṣaras had become a boy's teacher in the house of Meruvardhana and later on treasurer (gañjādhikārin).[3] This shows that teachers used to hold classes inthe house of one of the householders. However, the information is incomplete and does not convey the idea about the remuneration of the teacher and whether in those classes only the children of the householder participated or whether the children of the locality were included

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[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.50 note. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVII, 29.

[2] Skandapurāṇa quoted in Dānacandrikā, p.152.

[3] R.T., V, 469-475.

as well. In all likelihood, in such classes the children of the locality participated and the parents of these children contributed towards the fee of the teacher. Surely the ministers, influential kāyasthas and others of means employed teachers exclusively for their own children. Kṣemendra[1] refers to a teacher teaching in the house of an influential kāyastha but here also it is not clear whether the children belonged to the kāyastha only or to the neighbouring families as well. It appears that the teaching professionwas not confined to the Brāhmaṇas alone but was of anybody's affair. Anybody having intelligence and learning could become a teacher. The originof Suyya, the irrigation minister of king Avantivarman is not known. He was found by a caṇḍāla woman while sweeping, in an earthen vessel fitted with a cover. She arranged for his upkeep in the house of a Śūdra nurse. He received the name Suyya and grew into an intelligent youth, 'and having learned his letters became a teacher of small boys in the house of some householder'.[2] The children who neglected their duties received some kind of punishment and the presence of the teacher much dreaded as Kalhaṇa referring to the dismissal of prime minister Phalguṇa of king Abhimanyu records that after he left Kashmir for Parnotsa, the ministers rejoiced as boys when

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[1] Nar. mālā, II, 45.

[2] R.T., V, 78.

left by their teacher.[1] According to Vijñaneśvara and Aparārka, the teacher should beat the student only for correction. It should not be resorted to with the hand but with rope or a split bamboo, and it should come on the lower part of the body and not to the head.[2]

In the Darpadalana Kṣemendra writes that a real scholar should not give instruction in lieu of money nor should he attend royal courts.[3] At another place he avers that a real scholar is one who devotes his life for the benefit of humanity, distinguishes between right and wrong, saucha and asuacha and does not sell his learning and resort to magic and spells.[4]

We do not possess any direct evidence on which to form a correct estimate of the number of the population in Hindu times. Sir Aurel Stein, basing his arguments on the great number of deserted village sites, the remains of a far extended system of irrigation, temple ruins, administrative divisions and on the traditional verse occurring in the Lokaprakāśa and

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[1] R.T., VI, 209.

[2] On Yājñavalkya, I, 155.

[3] Darpadalana, III, 72 -74.

[4] Darpadalana, III, 28-50.

alluded to in Jonarāja's Chronicle which puts the number of villages in Kashmir at 66,063, concludes that it was far larger than at the present time.[1] We agree that the population in Hindu times appears to have been large but, with due regard to the great scholar, we doubt its far greater strength than present times.

Most of the towns were situated near the banks of the river Vitastā and other waters. That the importance of water was fully realised by the texts is evidenced by the prescription of Agnipurāṇa[2], that towns should be situated where plentyof water is available. According to the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra,[3] the capital towns should possess temples, forts, houses of merchants and have easy access to water. Many towns were founded during the periodunder review. Generally the names of new towns and villages were formed by the addition of pura to the name of the founder, e.g., the towns of Avantipura and Saṁkarapura bear the names of their founders king Avantivarman and Saṁkaravarman. In these and many other small towns and villages the people were engaged in all sorts of activities. Kalhaṇa's description of Narapura and Pravarapura in particular, as well as Bilhaṇa's description of Pravarapura in the

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[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.438.

[2] Agnipurāṇa, 239, 24-28.

[3] Samarāṅaṇasūtradhāra, XVIII, 1-6.

Vikramāṅkadevacarita reveal that the important towns in Kashmir were provided with regularly arranged markets, temples, gardens, tanks, maṭhas, vihāras, hospices, and other amenities of life. About the town Narapura, founded by king Nara of the legendary period, Kalhaṇa writes: 'On the sandy bank of the Vitastā he built a town where the markets were kept full of supplies by the high roads /leading to it/, and where the coming and going of ships gave splendour to the river. With its gardens full of swelling flowers and fruits it was, as it were, a synonym for heaven, and it surpassed even Kubera's town by the riches amassed /there/ through the conquest of the world.'[1] This town which bore the name Kiṃnarapura also, was encircled as Kalhaṇa records, by walls and battlements. In the absence of further evidence it is difficult to conjecture whether all the towns in Kashmir were defended by walls. Kalhaṇa's description of Pravarapura is equally interesting and important from the historical point of view. He records the construction of numerous temples and vihāras in the city by the king, his relatives and the ministers. He also records the construction of the great bridge (bṛhatsetu) on the Vitastā by this king and informs us that the city was once famous as

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[1] R.T., I, 201-202.

containing thirty-six lakhs of houses. The city 'was provided with regularly arranged markets..... There are mansions which reach to the clouds, and ascending which one sees the earth, glistening in the rain at the close of the summer and covered with flowers in the month of Caitra. Apart from that city, where else on earth can one find easily streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets? Nowhere else is seen in the centre of a city a pleasure-hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky. Where else do the inhabitants on a hot summer day find before their houses water like that of the Vitastā /cooled/ by large lumps of snow?'[1] Saṁkarapura is described as a lively market town, famous for the weaving of woollen cloth, purchase and sale of cattle and the like.[2] The small town of Aṭṭālikā (modern Aṭōli) has repeatedly been mentioned as a great market town, situated below Lohara at the point where the Valley of Loharin meets that of GĀgrī, some eight miles below Loharin proper.[3]

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[1] R.T., III, 358-362.

[2] R.T., V, 162.

[3] R.T., VIII, 581, 764, 831, 1819, 1842, 1845, 1991, 1994. M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.296.

The rich and well-to-do people like ministers, nobles, influential kāyasthas, Dāmaras and the rich merchants lived a comfortable life in their mansion. The Dāmaras had fortified castles and Kṣemendra in his Samayamātṛkā describes the Dāmara named Samarasiṁha as a wealthy citizen having a comfortable and luxuriously furnished residence.[1] That some of the merchants really led a luxurious life like lords is evidenced by a reference to the presence of lamps decorated with jewels (maṇidīpikā)[2] in the house of a merchant. King Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II, who had caught the fancy of the wife of this merchant, is said to have been astonished at the richness of the merchant when, at the invitation of the merchant, he stayed in his richly furnished house for some time. Dāmodaragupta also knows of money lenders (Śreṣṭhin) and merchants (vaṇika), leading very comfortable lives.[3] The dimensions of the houses depended solely on the social and economic conditions of the individuals. Kalhaṇa's reference to 'mansions which reach to the cloudes', and Bilhaṇa's to 'towering jewelled houses' show that the rich and well-placed people lived in habitations which had several storeys and were

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, II, 21 sqq.

[2] R.T., IV, 15 sqq.

[3] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 68.

provided with various rooms and apartments.[1] Kalhaṇa takes pride in the lofty houses of his land which have been admired by writers like Abul-Fazl and Mirza Haider. The latter writes that 'most of these houses are at least five stories high, and each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers'.[2] Bilhaṇa refers to the house compounds paved with crystal and stone slabs.[3] Whereas ordinary Kashmirians seem to have lived in a comparatively small house with reed-matting over its umbrella-shaped roof, the poorer people lived like the leather tanner in 'the hut in which the window is formed by the mouth of a pot'.[4] Not only the houses of the rich but sometimes the huts of the poor even, had compounds and courtyards with gates.[5] Kalhaṇa's narration of the story of king Kalaśa's visit to the house of the minister Jindurāja to enjoy the illicit love of his daughter-in-law who had given an appointment to the king demonstrates that the rich citizens such as ministers kept watchmen and watchdogs as safeguard against thieves.[6] It is likely that the poor had no locks on their doors, which were however protected with the help of a bar,

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[1] R.T., III, 359; Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 4.

[2] Tārikh-i Rashīdi, p.425.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 14.

[4] R.T., IV, 70; VII, 417.

[5] R.T., VII, 1642.

[6] R.T., VII, 307 sqq.

a piece of string or a fence but the story of Harṣa's refuge in the hut of a mendicant reveals that even some of the huts were provided with regular locks.[1] The houses of the rich seem tohave had large windows and balconies as Bilhaṇa mentions the free sport of the couples in them and some tiles discovered from Harwan also depict couples sitting on balconies.[2] Wood was extensively used as it is now, for the construction of houses, palaces,market places and public buildings and the sale of wood from the forests formed an important source of fiscal revenue.[3] The rapidity with which the palace was burned down by the pretender Uccala and the complete destruction by fire of the cities of Vijayeśvara and Śrīnagar in a little time on other occasins points to the same fact.[4] It is not improbable that in ancient times too, the boatmen of the Valley, like their modern counterparts, used to live intheir boats by making a dwelling-place in the afterpart of the boat. The towns and villages of Kashmir are very picturesque. Later writers like Moorcroft, Frederic Drew and Lawrence have drawn a very pleasant picture of them. Frederic Drew records the villages of Kashmir as 'very picturesque.

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[1] R.T., VII, 1644.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 9. R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plates XXII, XXIII.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2390.

[4] R.T. VII, 1565 sq., 1583.

The cottages are two storied; in some parts they have mud walls, with a low sloping gable-roof of thatch or of rough shingle; in others, where wood is moreplentiful, they are entirely of timber, made like a log-hut. They are sure to have some rooms warm and cosy, to live in in winter time; and a balcony sheltered by the overhanging eaves makes a good sitting-place in summer. The lower storey of the cottages is used in winter for stabling the cattle; their animal heat sensibly warms the house, and partly counteracts the coldness of the season, ... The cottages are not clumped and crowded....., but are commonly detached. By the village grow, unenclosed, numerous fruit-trees..-- apple, cheery, mulberry, and walnut - which form a wood or grove around and hide from view the dwellings..... In the early summer, when the fields are flooded for rice cultivation, there is the appearance of a chain of lakes and straits, the parts occupied by the villages themselves being the only dry land.'[1]

The Kangar and the bathing-huts played a very important part in the daily life of the people of Kashmir since ancient times. Elsewhere we have referred to the necessity and the use of the Kāngar in the cold country of Kashmir.[2] Wooden bathing huts

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[1]Frederic Drew, The Northern Barrier of India, pp. 126-127.

[2]Infra, p. 267-269.

(snānakoṣṭha, saritsnānagṛha, soṣmasnānagṛha, majjanāvāsa)[1] are mentioned both by Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa. They lined parts of the banks of the river Vitastā and other water-ways, where they could easily be supplied with water. The removal of these bathing huts along with boat bridges at the time of the great fire in Śrīnagar in the reign of king Sussala shows that these cells, which were moored on the river, were of wood.[2] From the vivid description of the city life which Kalhaṇa portrays in the eighth Canto of his chronicle, it follows that these cells were used not only for ablutions but served also as a favourite meeting-place, providing the best opportunity to exchange gossip of every kind.[3]

The cities were governed by the city prefects (nagarādhipa, nagarādhikṛta) who must have been assisted in the discharge of their various duties by a large team of kāyasthas. There appears to have been a steady increase in the duties of the city prefects who, by the time of the Lohara dynasty, were charged with the collection of revenue, police, defence and maintenance of law and order. There seems to have been only one prefect in the city

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[1] R.T., I, 40; V, 106, 462; VIII, 706, 1182, 2423. Samayamātṛka, II, 38.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1182.

[3] R.T., VIII, 706-710.

of Śrīnagar, but king Yasáskara (A.D. 939-948) is said to have appointed four city prefects (nagarādhikṛta) with the object of amassing more riches.[1] King Yaśaskara's policy of appointing more officials to get more revenue hit the citizens very hard as the four prefects exacted more and more revenue in a competitive spirit. In the capacity of a revenue officer it was the duty of a prefect to levy fines 'on the householders in the case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman.[2] He had to punish those who were alleged to have 'carnal intercourse with dancing girls who had been received into households as wedded wives'.[3] The passages reveal that the city prefects worked for the moral upliftment of the citizens and tried to check the immorality prevalent in the society. Earlier, Dāmodaragupta, who flourished during the reign of Jayapīḍa, the Karkoṭa king, records that in addition to the duty of the collection of fines from those prostitutes who violated the prescribed moral code, the nagaraprabhus also acted as censors of morals.[4] Vijayasimha, the able and distinguished city-prefect under king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), maintained

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[1] R.T., VI, 70.

[2] R.T., VIII, 3336.

[3] R.T., VIII, 3338.

[4] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 400.

proper law and order in the city by destroying all thieves.[1] That the town-prefects performed also military functions at critical junctures becomes evident when we notice how Nāga, the town-prefect during the reign of king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), was entrusted with the defence of Śrīnagara when the king was attacked by Uccala and Sussala.[2] Later, in the reign of king Sussala (A.D.1112-1120), when there was a rising of the troops, the city prefects Janaka was ordered by the king to move about the city in an effort to allay the tumult, so that the king could escape from the city.[3]

The life of the villagers was governed by the village headman (skandaka), who was aided by a number of village officials (grāma-kāyasthas). The term skandaka which is mentioned in the chronicle of Kṣemendra[4] and Kalhaṇa,[5] designates in all probability the headman of a village, though the chroniclers do not shed any light on the functions of the official. He seems to have been in overall charge of the village administration. The term designated according to M.A.Stein, 'the village headman,

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[1] R.T., VII, 580.

[2] R.T., VII, 1542.

[3] R.T., V, 814.

[4] Samayamātṛkā, VI, 15.

[5] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.210 note.

the modern Muqaddam or Lambardār, who as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenues, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration'.[1] And 'the grāmakāyastha', according to the same author, 'is in all probability the official ancestor of the present Patwari. The latter is the village accountant who keeps the papers showing the area of the holdings of the villagers, with their revenue assessment, etc.'[2] The office of the headman and the Patwari, which played an important part in the ancient Indian village-administration since early times, held also a position of esteem in the village life of the Valley. It appears that before the time of king Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), these officials were paid from the state treasury as this king, as Kalhaṇa records, levied, presumably for the first time, contributions for the monthly pay of the skandakas and grāmakāyasthas, thereby driving the villagers into poverty.[3] It is difficult to conjecture how long this practice as introduced by king Saṁkaravarman continued in the Hindu period. But as late as the last quarter

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[1] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. I, p.210 note.

[2] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. I, p.210 note.

[3] R.T., V, 175.

of the nineteenth century, we come across such taxes being levied on the Kashmīri villager, as Patwari tax, a Kanungo tax and a tax on account of establishment.[1] That the offices of these village officials were not secure and that they ousted each other by offering bribes to the appointing authority, is hinted at in a passage by Kalhaṇa, when the chronicler while describing the impotency of the kings of Kashmir inthe beginning of the tenth century and in consequence the supremacy of the Tantrins records that 'the kings were in the service of the Tantrins, and, ousted each other, like village officials, by offering greater and greater bribes'.[2] This is supported by the statement of Kṣemendra that the mārgapati - the head of the viṣaya, who not only supervised the viṣaya and the villages lying within its jurisdiction, but inspected the roads and decided civil and criminal cases also, could appoint or dismiss the grāmadivira at his will.[3]

Kalhaṇa cautions a ruler against the vices and oppression of officials (kāyastha). He deplores the attitude of kings like Jayāpīḍa and Harṣa who in their greed for more treasures introduced

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[1] W.R.Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, London 1895, p.415.

[2] R.T., V, 265.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 97, 127-128, 140.

fresh taxes and oppressed their subjects through the kāyasthas, as well as describes with evident relish their suppression by king Uccala. Recollecting their greed and tyranny Kalhaṇa contemptuously writes: 'Officials in truth are eager to kill, desirous of evil, robbers of other's property, rogues and demons; he /the king/ should protect his subjects from them'.[1] The kāyasthas, Kalhaṇa goes on, 'are plaguesfor the people, and not only cholara, colic, and exhaustion, rapidly destroying everybody. The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys her mother, but the ungrateful kāyastha when he has become powerful destroys everything. If ever a man of mark raises up the kāyastha and gives him distinction, the rogue, just as /if he were/ a Vetāla slays him without scruple'.[2] Kṣemendra also in his Deśopadeśa and Narmamālā treats the kāyasthas with biting satire, unveiling their vices and evil and corrupt ways. In the Narmamālā,[3] Kṣemendra describes that the highest office that could be bagged by a kāyastha was the gṛhakṛtāadhipati and it is the ambition of every kāyastha to achieve that coveted position for which he resorts to different evil ways. He goes on to narrate

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[1] R.T., VIII, 87.

[2] R.T., VIII, 88-90.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 32ff.

in a diatribe the various offices of a kāyastha such as paripālaka, lekhakopādhyaya, ganja-divira, Niyogi etc. Though Kṣemendra 'offers an unmixed condemnation for the past villainous administration of the kāyastha cabinet, his chief intention is to warn his contemporaries against the adoption of this course of life'.

Passingly it may briefly be mentioned that the valley of Kashmir has since ancient times been divided for administrative purposesinto two parts, viz., Kramarājya (kamrāz) and Maḍavarājya (marāz). Aurel Stein dilates upon the subject and concludes that Madavarājya comprised the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Śrīnagar and Kramarājya those below.[1] For the convenience of administration the Valley was divided into numerous viṣayas or raṣtras and viṣyas into grāmas.[2] Kalhaṇa also shares the traditional belief that the king should carry on his multifarious duties with the help of a team of ministers and whereas he ridicules the dishonest, corrupt and selfish ministers (mantrins, sachiva) he showers tremendous praise on wise and loyalones and writes at one place that the royal dignity without a good minister did not spread lustre, as little as the night without the moon or

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[1] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. II, p.436.

[2] R.T., V, 51; VIII, 1260, 1413, 2697. Jonarāja, 141; Śrīvara, II, 19; III, 25, 159, 425.

speech without truth.[1] Referring to the harmonious relations between king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) and his minister Sūra Kalhaṇa praisingly writes: 'Such a king and such a minister, whose relations were never disfigured by the blemish of mutual hatred, have not otherwise been seen or heard of'.[2] A study of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that the important ministers during the period under survey were:

a) Commander-in-chief (kampanādhipati, kampanādhipa, kampanādhiśa, kampaneśa, kampanāpati).

b) Prime minister (sarvādhikara, mukha mantritā)

c) Chief justice (rājasthānādhikāra)

d) Foreign minister (saṁdhivigrahika)

e) Lord of the gate (dvārādhikarin, dvārādhipa, dvarapati, dvārādhiśvara)

f) Chief of police (daṇḍanāyaka, daṇḍādhikṛta)

g) Head of the revenue administration (gṛhakṛtyādhipati, gṛhakṛtayādhikārin, gṛhakṛtayamahattama)

h) Governor (maṇḍaleśa, maṇḍaleśvara)

In Kashmir, there does not appear to have existed any system of banking as in modern times and the people deposited their amounts

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[1] R.T., VI, 279.

[2] R.T., V, 63.

with the merchants. No evidence is forthcoming as to the rate of interest which the merchants as bankers used to pay to their customers. Under this system, the merchants often turned dishonest causing trouble to the depositors. Kalhaṇa[1] records an anecdote of such a merchant with whom a customer had deposited one lakh Dīnāras. The depositor took from time to time, small sums of money (arthamātrā) for meeting his expenditure. After a period of twenty or thirty years when the customer asked the holder of the deposit (nyāsadhārin) to give him back what remained after what he had taken. The wicked merchant who wanted to embezzle the deposit, made different pretexts but on persistent demands from the customer angrily showed the account book (gaṇana-pattrikā) and said: 'That word śreyase [to profit] which was put at the opening of the account has turned into aśreyase [to loss].' Then he made a fraudulent bill of the amount the customer took from time to time which in full is given elsewhere. The total of these sums, in accordance with his reckoning exceeded the amount of the original deposit. The merchant demanded this advanced amount (ujjamdhaṇa) together with its interest. When, after the judges failed to arrive at any decision, the case was taken over by king Uccala who asked the merchant to produce a portion of the

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[1] R.T., VIII, 123-158.

deposited money. Looking at it which bore his /Uccala/ name the king said how come on money deposited in king Kalaśa's time, also coin types which show my name. From this, said the king, it followed that the merchant has used for his purposes the whole of deposited lakh just as also the customer the goods which he took periodically from the merchant. 'Therefore,' wisely said Uccala, 'if the plaintiff has to pay to this merchant interest on what he has taken from him, from that time to the present day, then this merchant too ought to pay to him interest on the full lakh from the time of its being deposited. What need be said of the original amount?'[1] The combined testimony of the Rājataraṅgiṇi and the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya suggests that the practice of borrowing money periodically on a deposit made earlier was of common occurrence. Dāmodaragupta[2] records a maid servant of a courtesan who deposited her pearl necklace with a merchant and got thirty kedaras. She received another thirty kedaras from the merchant a second time. Then from time to time she is recorded to have taken from the merchant certain articles such as saffron, camphor, sandal and incense. These references lead Lallanji Gopal[3] to believe rightly that generally the merchant bankers accepted deposits as pledges or trusts and were expected

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[1] R.T., VIII, 155-156.

[2] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 605-609.

[3] Lallanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p.175.

neither to use them for their own purposes nor pay interest on them. But in case the merchants used the deposit as the merchant connected with the anecdote recorded in the Rājatara'n-giṇī did, they had to pay interest on it if their guilt was proved.

The Kashmirian texts use the terms nyāsa and nikṣepa for deposits. In the anecdote of the merchant and the depositor, the Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions the word nyāsa for the deposit and the merchant as the holder of the deposit is called nyāsadhārin.[1] The Samayamātṛkā[2] of Kṣemendra uses the words nyāsa and nikṣepa indiscriminately while referring to a deposit of jewels in a sealed box. The term nyāsa was meant to be a pious trust to be safeguarded but not supposed to be enjoyed.[3] In the law books different explanations have been given for these terms. Vijñaneśvara[4] in his commentary Mitākṣarā, explains nyāsa as a deposit made in the absence of the chief of the family, nikṣepa as a deposit counted before the depository, and upanidhi as a kind of deposit sealed before the depository without being checked and counted. On the other hand Viśvarūpa[5] describes nyāsa as an

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[1] R.T., VIII, 126.

[2] Samayamātṛkā, VIII, 65, 87,

[3] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 455.

[4] On Yājñavalkya, II, 67.

[5] On Yājñavalkya, II, 69.

open deposit for safe protection and nikṣepa as the delivery of one's article to be handed over to someone. Kṣīrasvāmin defines nyāsa and upanidhi as open deposits and nikṣepa as the delivery of goods to artisans to be worked up.[1] Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa who appear to have personal knowledge of such dishonest merchants existing in the Kashmirian society, make stinging attack on this class. Regarding the character of these indigenous bankers Kalhaṇa sadly remarks: 'The water which has been carried down to the ocean by the streams is received back from the clouds; but a thing deposited in a merchant's hands is never again recovered. A merchant in a law-suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger; because he shows a face smooth as oil, uses his voice but very little, and shows a gentle appearance. A merchant does not to his life's end abandon his deceit, though in a law-suit one might think each moment that he has abandoned it, judging from his smiles and protestations of former friendship.'[2] Kalhaṇa goes on in the same breath: 'Courtezans, the official (kāyastha), the clerk (divira) and the merchant, being all deceitful by nature, are in this respect superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice...

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[1] On Amarakoṣa, II, 9.81.

[2] R.T., VIII, 128-130.

The merchant draws up blood and flesh, just like a gourd, and resembles it, being white and black in colour, sweating from the smoke of the fire, having a mouth narrow like a needle and a very capacious belly.'[1] Elsewhere in his chronicle Kalhaṇa exposing their hypocrisy says that after embezzling deposits they show themselves ever eager to listen to the recital of sacred texts.[2] Kṣemendra bowls a similar biting delivery and remarks that they turn deaf when approached for the recovery of sums deposited with them,[3] and become opulent by seizing property deposited with them.[4]

We learn from Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa that the Kashmirians used hundikā (huṇḍī) for transactions.[5] Sir Aurel Stein quotes from Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa, a document relating to a transaction for a sum of 10,000 Dīnnāras to be paid at the village of Jayavana (Zevan) within a year.[6] This work acquaints us with different kinds of documents, official terms, formulae and the like. We read terms like dīnnārojjāmacīrikā denoting a 'bond of

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[1] R.T., VIII, 131-134.

[2] R.T., VIII, 706-710.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, V, 53-58.

[4] Kalāvilāsa, II, 4, 23-24; Narmamālā, III, 71; Deśopadeśa, VIII, 14.

[5] R.T., V, 266, 275.

[6] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, pp. 313-314.

debt for cash' and dhānyojjamacīrikā, denoting a 'bond of debt in rice'. Similarly the list of hundikās open with dīnnārahundikā and dhanyahundikā. In the Samayamātṛkā[1] of Kṣemendra also, we read such terms as Ujjasapattrikā, meaning a document acknowledging the receipt of debt or loan. It is not known what procedure was adopted by the creditor for the part payment received by him from the debtor. Perhaps they made separate receipts. In this connection Nārada and Yājñavalkya aver that the creditor should either issue a separate receipt or write so on the reverse of the document.[2]

In the foregoing pages of this chapter and in the chapter on Tīrthas and Religious Foundations, we have referred to the state activity in the form of foundation of temples, maṭhas, vihāras, hospices, arogyaśālas, and annasattras, carried out not only by the royalty but the private individuals as well. The Samayamātṛkā refers to a woman who kept an inn (pānthāvasathapālika) at the town of Parihāsapura.[3] The Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa[4] of Kṣemendra refers to public supplies of water on the road-side. Agrahāras to Brāhmaṇas were granted on a liberal scale by the kings and

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, VIII, 96.

[2] Nārada, IV, 114; Yājñavalkya, II, 93.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, II, 3.

[4] Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, V, p.22.

officials alike. Kings like Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) improved the condition of the people by undertaking irrigation schemes. Bridges, tanks, wells, gardens, drinking places (prāpa) and bathing cells were constructed for public use. We read of kings like Uccala who not only protected his subjects from the oppression of the kāyasthas by taking strict action against the latter, but he in his desire to look to the welfare of the subjects, sold his own grain stores at cheap rates and checked the famines in their initial stages. Kings like Jayasimha are recorded as having provided the proper paraphernalia to the citizens on the occasion of marriages of their sons, consecration of images and similar occasions.

But the Kashmirians experienced some anxious moments also when their economic conditions must have suffered a set back. The rule of most of the kings of our period was of mixed character and not without blemish. The subjects were oppressed on many occasions by the imposition of new taxes and their exaction through corrupt and greedy kāyasthas. King Avantivarman's (A.D.855/6-883) peaceful and prosperous reign was followed by his tyrannical son Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), who was averse to the learned. He plundered the property of as many as sixty-four temples by establishing new revenue offices, viz., the office, charged with the collection of

the royal share of the market dues (aṭṭapatibhāga) and the office connected with domestic affairs (gṛhakṛtya). The officer in charge of the domestic affairs had under him one treasurer and five secretaries. He is said to have introduced the system of forced carriage of loads (rūḍhabhārodhi), fined those villagers who did not carry their share of load and drove the villagers into poverty by such other exactions. Under his oppressive rule, writes Kalhaṇa, the kāyasthas were brought to power 'who by abstracting the wealth of honest people destroy the king's renown'.[1] The period following the death of king Saṁkaravarman was marked by insecurity when corruption and oppression became common. King Yaśaskara, whose mild rule of nine years (A.D.939-948) had given some respite to the people, fell in evil ways and 'amassed riches through four city prefects (nagarādhikṛta) who helped themselves in turn to money and were hanging about each other's back'.[2] Kalhaṇa records that king Saṁgramarāja (A.D.1003-1028) appointed Mataṅga 'an expert in the science of fleecing the subjects' who filled the treasury.[3] King Ananta (A.D.1028-1063) acquired wealth

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[1] R.T., V, 165-181.

[2] R.T., VI,70.

[3] R.T., VII, 110.

by levying an impost dvādaśabhāga on the people.[1] Elsewhere, we have discussed the excesses committed by kings Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). The rule of Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) gave some breathing time to the people. But in the reign of king Sussala oppressions again started. He is said to have collected 'great treasure'.[2] Even the wise rule of king Jayasiṁha was not unblemished. Taxes were levied on auspicious occasions (maṅgalyadaṇḍa).[3] Chitraratha, the lord of the gate, oppressed the people by ever increasing imposts.[4] Hi s servants even confiscated the grazing land and the sacred cows.[5] Kalhaṇa painfully remarks: 'Look, how the subjects are ruined in their helplessness by a rogue of a minister, while the king imperturbable in his kindness /to him/ pays no heed to them'.[6]

In a place like Kashmir, fitted with a network of rivers, streams and lakes which were accessible to boats, the importance

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[1] R.T., VII, 203.

[2] R.T., VIII, 492.

[3] R.T. VIII, 1428.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2224.

[5] R.T., VIII, 2226.

[6] R.T., VIII, 2229.

of river navigation for traffic and internal trade can hardly be overestimated. All the capital and many other important towns were situated on the banks of Vitastā which formed the most important highway of Kashmir. The pages of the Rājatarangiṇī show that boats formed in ancient times as they do now, to sufficient extent, the ordinary means of travel in the Valley and Kalhaṇa does not fail to record many river journeys through boats.[1] The produce of the Valley as also wood from great forests and other merchandise was brought to market centres through boats. Even for external trade the boats carried all goods to the points so far as navigation was possible, from where the hardy load-carrying coolies of Kashmir carried that luggage through difficult bridle-paths. Referring to the foundation of Narapuṭa, Kalhaṇa writes: 'On the sandy bank of the Vitastā he built a town where the markets were kept full of supplies by the high roads leading to it, and where the coming and going of ships gave splendour to the river.'[2]

Permanent bridges were unknown in ancient Kashmir. The banks of the river were joined by boat-bridges which consisted in joining the boats goether by chains with an open passage left for river traffic. While referring to the bridges Kalhaṇa is very cautious in telling us that they were made of boats. Kalhaṇa

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[1] R.T., VII, 347, 714.

[2] R.T., I, 201.

ascribes the first bridge of this kind to Pravarsena II who is recorded to have built the 'Great Bridge' (bṛhatsetu)[1] on the Vitastā in his newly founded capital. He goes on to say that 'only since then is such construction of boat-bridges known'. This bridge is again mentioned in connection with a conflagration which burnt the city in the reign of king Sussala.[2] King Harṣa is said to have constructed another boat-bridge in the capital.[3] The temporary character of these bridges is illustrated by the quickness with which they were broken at the approach of an enemy or on danger of fire.[4] The account of Sharīfu-d-dīn[5] which records that of the thirty boat-bridges consisted across Vitastā, seven were in Śrīnagar, clearly shows that permanent bridges wereunknown in Hindu times. The first permanent bridge over the Vitastā is attributed to Zainu-l-ābidīn which bore the name Zaina Kadal (jainakadali) after the name of the founder.[6] At present there are seven bridgesin Śrīnagar.

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[1] R.T., III, 354.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1171-1172.

[3] R.T. VII, 1549.

[4] R.T., VII, 909, 1539; VIII, 1182. Śrīvara, I, 308.

[5] Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, p.431.

The configuration of the mountainous country of Kashmir having difficult bridle paths and not good roads for wheeled traffic has made the Kashmirians hardy and good walkers. Alberuni refers to the Kashmirians as good pedestrians and notices the use by the nobles of the palankins carried by men on their shoulders. But he is totally wrong in stating that they don't have riding animals as well as elephants.[1] The litters (karṇi-ratha, yugya) formed a privileged conveyance of the kings and nobles and the aristocrats and Kalhaṇa records many journeys carried on the litters by kings, queens, ministers and other officials.[2] Kings like Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) and Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101) granted the rare privilege of using the litters to learned scholars.[3] The litter (yugya) is also mentioned in the Samayamātṛkā[4] of Kṣemendra. A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that the karṇiratha formed an important part of the Kashmirian army. The army of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa is said to have contained one lakh and a quarter of litters (karṇiratha) and that of Jayāpīḍa, eighty thousand.[5] But during our period

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[1] India, vol. I, p.206.

[2] R.T. , IV, 407; V, 219; VII, 478; VIII, 367, 940, 1572, 2298, 2308, 2636, 2673, 3165, 3168.

[3] R.T., V, 33; VII, 934.

[4] Samayamātṛkā, VI, 26.

[5] R.T., IV, 407.

it does not appear to have formed fighting strength of the army. Referring to the strength of the army at the command of king Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) when he started for foreign expeditions, Kalhaṇa mentions that he had nine lakhs of foot-soldiers, three hundred elephants and a lakh of horsemen but does not say anything about karṇīrathas.[1] All the later references point to its use as an aristocratic conveyance.

Kalhaṇa refers to stables of the elephants and the great animal is also depicted on some tiles discovered at Harwan.[2] Horse was a prized animal,[3] and formed an important means of conveyance in the Valley. The Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to infantry, cavalry and elphants as important units of Kashmirian army. The Kashmirians were good horse-riders (aśvāroha bahāroha) and while narrating the fighting scenes Kalhaṇa specially mentions mounted soldiers (aśvavārā). In the Rājataraṅgiṇī we find references to cavalry commanders (hayasenāpati, aśvapati), officer for the supply offödder for the horses (aśvaghāsakāyastha) and a writer connected with the stables of horses (aśvaśālādivira).[4]

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[1] R.T., V, 143-144.

[2] R.T., VII, 772. R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, Plate XXXIX.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2093-2094.

[4] R.T., III, 489; VII, 766-69.

The importance of the horse was fully appreciated in the Valley and some kings are described as spending huge sums in purchasing excellent horses.[1] There are many references to horse dealers.[2] From the pages of Kalhaṇa's chronicle it appears that the elephant which formed an important fighting unit of the army under early Hindu kings,[3] was not preferred during the period under question. We do not find it mentioned numerically as a part of the army after the ninth century A.D. It looks from the description of a fight between king Harṣa and Uccala and Sussala, in which only Harṣa is described as riding an elephant, that its use in battle was restricted to the king only.[4] In the literature of the Valley we have references to the Brāhmaṇas as receiving gifts of cows and other material but in a curious solitary passage Kalhaṇa records king Jayapīḍa as granting one lakh horses to Brāhmaṇas.[5]

In ancient Kashmir, in the absence of good roads fit for wheeled traffic and the labour class, the task of carrying loads

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1094.

[2] R.T., VII, 188, 213; VIII, 1493.

[3] R.T., III, 327; IV, 147-148, 162, 277.

[4] R.T., VII, 1553-1555.

[5] R.T., IV, 415.

fell on the population. The term mentioned for such labour tax is rūḍhabharoḍhi. Expeditions undertaken in and about Kashmir by the kings were greatly dreaded by the villagers as they were compelled to work as load-carriers and Kalhaṇa refers to the wailing of the villagers on the occasinn of an expedition when they were forced to carry loads at the command of the commissariat.[1] The first reference to the rūḍhabharoḍhi occurs in the time of king Saṁkaravarman (A.D.882-902), who does not appear to have started it but reorganised it systematically as a means of fiscal exactions. Kalhaṇa does not dilate upon the thirteen kinds of bēgar he mentions. King Saṁkaravarman levied it so strictly that those villagers who did not turn up tocarry their stipulated load were fined by the value of the load at increased rates and the same fine was levied during the following year a second time from the whole village.[2] At another place we read that after King Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) had plundered the temple of Bhīmakeśava, the members of the local Purohita corporation induced the king by a solemn fast (prāya) to grant them in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (rūḍhabhārōḍhi).[3]

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[1] R.T., VIII, 2153.

[2] R.T., V, 172-174.

[3] R.T., VII, 1088.

These references favour the suggestion that sometimes the forced labour was commuted for payment in cash or kind.[1] The material at our disposal does not permit us to ascertain the conditions for such labour, that is whether food and clothes were given to the labourers on the day and such other consolatory provisions. Many texts[2] empower the king to exact forced or unpaid labour from artisans and labourers. Whereas Manu[3] prescribes that such labour should be levied regularly for one day in a month from artisans, mechanics and Śūdras etc., the Śukranītisāra,[4] a nineteenth century text,[5] recommends the same once in a fortnight from the artists and artisans. The latter text goes much further and requires the king to get the roads repaired from the prisoners. But we read a liberal recommendation in the Agnipurāṇa[6] which advises the king to provide food to those people from whom forced labour is exacted.

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[1] Lallanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p.26.

[2] Gautama, X, 31-32; Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra, III, 32.

[3] Manu, VII, 138.

[4] Śukranītisāra (Ed. Cal.), IV, 2.121.

[5] Published in the B.S.O.A.S., XXV, part 3.

[6] Agnipurāṇa, 223.33.

Chapter IV

FOOD AND DRINK

The villagers, being wholly engaged in agriculture,[1] the small country of Kashmir always supplied its inhabitants with the necessary food since ancient times. The valley of Kashmir abounds in streams and springs which could distribute water to most of the ground fit for cultivation. The country seems to have been self-sufficient in food during the Hindu period. The food consisted mainly of rice, barley, pulses, vegetables, fish, meat and milk preparations. All the people in the Valley did not consume the same kind of food. The contents of a diet depended on the economic condition of the individual - the rich and well-to-do definitely took a more sumptuous and varied diet than the poor. And the utensils used by the kings and the rich people were many and different from those of the poor. Whereas the kings and the well-placed used cups, bowls, and jars of gold and silver,[2] the poor seem to have contented themselves with earthen vessels,[3] and those of iron and copper.

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[1] R.T., VI, 9.

[2] R.T., I, 182; III, 528; IV, 477; V, 12; VII, 1217; VIII, 265, 1455.

[3] R.T., V, 74; VII, 2308.

The literature of the Valley provides some information about the food of the people and the most frequent references to rice (dhānya, śālī, taṇḍula, vrīhi, kalama)[1] show that rice was the main food of the Kashmirians. Śālī is one of the seventeen varieties of grain mentioned by Hemacandra.[2] As late as the nineteenth century W.R. Lawrence records that 'the Kashmīris, so far, have considered no crop worthy of attention save rice'.[3] It is quite obvious that in Kashmir, cooked rice was taken along with various kinds of cooked vegetables, fish and meat. We learn from the Nīlamatapurāṇa that rice was consumed in different ways such as, rice mixed with sugar and sugar-cane, boiled rice and cakes of rice. A meal of rice, sugar and sugar-cane is specially prescribed for the celebration of the ninth day of the bright half of Bhādun and the Aśokikā festival.[4] Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa refer to rice flour[5] which must have been used in the preparation of rice cakes in addition to its use in other ways. In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo[6] records that the

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[1] R.T., I, 246; II, 18; III, 24; IV, 295; V, 71, 116-117; VII, 496. Nīlamatapurāṇa, 748-749. Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 228. Samayamātṛkā, II, 78; Narmamālā, III, 5. Deśopadeśa, VIII, 36; Lokaprakāśa, p.6.

[2] Vide A.K.Majumdar, Chalukyas of Gujarat, p.258.

[3] The Valley of Kashmir, p.319.

[4] Infra, p. 401-402.

[5] Narmamālā, III, 3; R.T., VIII, 140.

[6] Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. I, p.166.

people of Kashmir take meat with rice and other grain. Khiccari,[1] prepared by cooking rice with various pulses, was known to the Kashmirians and was particularly served on certain festive days, such as the 14th day of the dark half of Pauṣa when the Brāhmaṇas were honoured with a meal of Khiccari and the full moon day of Māgha when the crows (kāka) were given this food.[2] Even now the Khiccari of rice and Caṇa is cooked on certain festival days.

In Kashmir, the Kṛsyārambha festival was celebrated in the month of Caitra with great rejoicings when worship was offered to Prithivī, Baladeva, Mahādeva, Vāmadeva, Divākara, Niśanātha, Indra, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Brahman, Kāśyapa, Vāyu, Gagana etc. and people wearing gay clothes began ploughing and sowing seeds.[3] Oxen were used for tilling the soil.[4] In the month of Bhādra the Kashmirians were delighted to see their fields covered with the autumnal rice crops which just start ripening.[5] In the month of Āśvina, at the ripening of the rice crop (dhānya), the festival of Navānavidhana was celebrated amidst great festivities.

We learn from Kalhaṇa that the valley of Kashmir was entirely dependent on rice crops and its failure due to natural calamities such as excessive snowfall and floods resulted in famine.

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 484-491. R.T., I, 205.

[2] Infra, p. 382-383.

[3] Infra, p. 388

[4] R.T., IV, 347.

[5] R.T., II, 18; V, 270; VIII, 770, 795.

Identifying the heavy snowfall which fell in the time of king Tuñjina of the legendary period with 'the grim laughter of Death bent on the destruction of all beings', Kalhaṇa records pathetically that 'there sank (and perished) the rice-crops, together with the people's hope of existence'.[1] Kashmir was afflicted by a heavy flood in A.D.917 under the reign of king Pārtha (A.D. 906-921), when the whole autumn rice crop was destroyed.[2] Severe floods caused great havoc and a heavy loss to life and property during the later Karkoṭa rulers and in the time of king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101).[3] We have discussed in the following pages that in ancient Kashmir the usual price of a Khāri of rice in times of great abundance was two hundred Dīnnāras. How much the Kashmirians were dependent on the rice crop can be gauged from the tremendous rise in prices as a result of famine caused by the floods. As a result of the floods the price of a Khāri of rice went up alarmingly high - 1050 dīnnāras during the rule of the later Karkoṭa kings, 1000 dīnnārasin the time of king Pārtha and 500 dīnnārasin the time of king Harṣa.[4]

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[1] R.T., II, 19.

[2] R.T., V, 270.

[3] R.T., V, 70; VII, 1219.

[4] R.T., V, 71, 271; VII, 1220.

As floods in the Valley were of frequent occurrence some kings of Kashmir recognized the necessity to take steps against this catastrophic danger. The earliest reference credits king Dāmodara with the construction of long stone-lined dykes.[1] The erection of an embankment (setu) is attributed to king Bālāditya's minister.[2] In the time of king Lalitāditya, an arrangement was made for conducting the water of the Vitastā at Cakradara (modern Tsakadar), perhaps by means of an embankment, and distributing the water to the villages by the construction of water-wheels (ambhahpratārana).[3] But a systematic large-scale irrigational scheme to regulate the river Vitastā and to drain the whole Valley was carried out by Suyya, the minister of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). Surprisingly, at Yakṣadara in Kramarājya, he threw ample money (dināra) into the water. Here the rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks obstructed the Vitastā. The famine-stricken villagers in their greed to search for the money removed the rocks from the river and consequently the bed of the river became clear and the level of the water was appreciably lowered.

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[1] R.T., I, 159.

[2] R.T., III, 483.

[3] R.T., IV, 191.

Next, after blocking the river for seven days by the construction of a stone dam, he cleared the bed at the bottom and constructed stone walls to protect against rocks which might roll down again. The dam was removed and the river flowed merrily through the clear passage. Wherever breaches occurred during floods, he constructed new beds for the Vitastā. As a result of this, the rivers Sindhu and Vitastā, which formerly met between Trigām and the Paraspor plateau, now came to have their junction at Shādipūr in the vicinity of Śrīnagar. Next he dammed in the water of the Mahapadma or Volur lake by constructing stone embankments and founded various villages on the land thus raised. 'After examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no (longer) dependent only on the rainfall. After watering all village (lands), he took from (each) village (some) soil, and ascertained, by (observing) the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required (for each soil, respectively). He (then) arranged (accordingly) on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the watercourse for each village, and by (using for irrigation) the Anulā and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce.'[1] As a result of this wonderful scheme, a khārif of rice came to be bought for 36 Dīnāras only.[2]

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[1] R.T., V, 84-112.

[2] R.T., V, 116-117.

Unfortunately, the good work started by Suyya was not continued during the later period. Had there been some continuation in the policy pursued by Suyya, many of the troubles faced by the people could have been averted.

Barley (yava)[1] constituted another item of food, particularly of the poor classes. We agree with M.A.Stein who taking in view the context in which the barley grain is referred to in a passage in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, records that 'barley is eaten in Kaśmīr only by the poorest, and then only on the road or wherever else proper food cannot be prepared'.[2] A kind of bread (apūpa) and cake (piṣṭaka) were prepared out of barley,[3] which seems to have been taken with vegetables and meat. Porridge (saktu)[4] was known to the Kashmiris. At the time of the ripening of barley at the end of Jyaiṣṭha, the Yavāgrāyaṇa festival was celebrated.[5] On the dayof the Akṣaya Tṛtīyā festival Viṣṇu was worshipped by offering barley (yava) to the consecrated fire.[6]

The literature shows that different varieties of pulse were consumed by the people in ancient times as at present. Caṇa,

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[1] R.T., I, 205; VII, 1261; VIII, 1864.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.145 note.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 499-505.

[4] R.T., I, 205.

[5] Infra, p. 395.

[6] Infra, p. 392.

masura and kulaṭṭha are some which find mention in the work of Dāmodaragupta.[1] The Nīlamatapurāṇa refers to māśa and masūra.[2] Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa add mudga to the list and from the passage in which it is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī we learn that it was mostly taken by the poor.[3] The Rājataraṅgiṇī often mentions parched grain in connection with auspicious days.[4] The preparation of parpaṭa or pāpara from various types of pulse, a thin sort of spiced cake which is now taken along with the food to make it more tasty, was also known to the Kashmirians, and has been specially prescribed for the celebration of the full moon day of Fālguṇa.[5] The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions utpalaśāka, a wild-growing and cheap vegetable of bitter taste, as an offering of no value on the god's image in the temple.[6] The passage alludes that this vegetable was taken by the people. According to a traditional belief recorded by M. A. Stein, the plant 'formed the diet of the ancient Ṛṣis in the forest'.[7] He writes that 'the plant, now known by the name of upalhākh, forms still one of the commonest

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[1] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 228.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 422.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 124; R.T., VII, 748.

[4] R.T., I, 367; II, 119.

[5] Infra, p. 387.

[6] R.T., V, 48-49.

[7] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. I, p.193 note.

vegetables of the Kaśmīrī cuisine. It grows abundantly on the mountain slopes at an elevation of 7,000-11,000 feet, and its leaves are collected in large quantities by the villagers..... The bitter taste of the leaves is removed by repeated boiling'.[1] Lotus-roots (bisa) constituted another important vegetable in Kashmir which was mostly eaten with meat.[2]

The Kashmirians relished food cooked in spices. Chilli (marica), turmeric, pepper and asafoetida (hiṅgu) were known in the Valley.[3] Ginger (ardraka) appears to have been a prized substance and along with honey (mākṣika)[4] was used for medical purposes. As salt was imported from Paṅjab and Ladakh, it was costly in Kashmir. It is even possible that the poor could not afford it as Kṣemendra refers to a miser as eating his food without salt.[5] Salt was imported from the Paṅjab through the Pīr Pantsāl route and Kṣemendra refers to the salt road (lavaṇa-saraṇi).[6] When passes leading to Kashmir were closed owing to excessive snowfall, the price of salt and other articles of import like pepper and asafoetida etc., went exceptionally high. We

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[1] Ibid.

[2] R.T., VIII, 676.

[3] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 228; Narmamālā, I, 123; R.T., VII, 1221.

[4] Narmamālā, I, 123.

[5] Deśopadeśa, II, 8, 9, 15; Narmamālā, I,124, 127.

[6] Samayamātṛkā, II, 91.

are informed by Śrīvara that when the passes to the south were closed owing to political troubles, the price of salt in the capital rose to 25 Dīnnāras for 1 1/2 Palas.[1] The famines which brought extreme scarcity of all foodstuffs axed particularly the salt, pepper and hiṅgu.[2] Onions (palāṇḍu) and garlic (lasuna) are mentioned as aphrodisiacs.[3] It appears that the use of garlic was not often favoured. It seems to have been particularly forbidden for the Brāhmaṇas as Kalhaṇa referring to king Gopāditya of the legendary period records that he dismissed those Brāhmaṇas who ate garlic to a place called Bhūkṣiravāṭikā which according to Stein lies outside the capital, between the foot of the rocky N. W. face of the Takht hill and the Gagribal portion of the Ḍal.[4] Hiuen Tsang was well acquainted with this subject and referring to the Indian people in general records: 'Onions and garlic are little grown; and few persons eat them; if anyone uses them for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town.'[5] Kalhaṇa includes onions among the articles which were offered to the Tantric gurus whom he treats with contempt.[6] Also elsewhere in India, onions and garlic were

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[1] Śrīvara, IV, 584.

[2] R.T., VII, 1221.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, II, 26.

[4] R.T., I, 342-343.

[5] Sī-yu-ki, vol. I, p.88.

[6] R.T., VIII, 143.

not favoured as Lakṣmīdhara and Candeśvara include them among the list of forbidden food.[1] The gurus are mentioned as receiving offerings of dhūpa, onions and the roots of the Śandā plant, the 'latter is found growing wild all over the valley, and is valued as a vegetable and for its medical properties'.[2] The botanical name of Śandā (modern hand) is Cichorium intybus.[3]

The Kashmirians consumed much meat especially that of different animals, birds and fish. The forests provided a good hunting ground and plenty of fish could be procured from numerous lakes and streams. That the slaughter of animals was fairly common in Kashmir is evidenced by the promulgation of a law, prohibiting the killing of living creatures, by king Meghavāhana, the virtuous king of the legendary period.[4] It is not known how long this law remained in force during the succeeding period. It certainly did not last long as Kalhaṇa, while narrating the events of the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) records that 'for ten years in the reign of Avantivarman the killing of all living creatures was prohibited just as /it was in that/

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[1] Niyatakālakāṇḍa, pp. 279-283. Grihastharatnākara, pp. 352-367.

[2] M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.13 note.

[3] Dr. Elmslie, Kashmiri Vocabulary, p.130.

[4] R.T., III, 6.

of the illustrious Meghavāhana'.[1] We further hear that Suyya, the minister of this king, after having carried out some irrigational reforms 'established by hisown authority a prohibition against the killing of fish and birds' on the Mahāpadma (Vuluṛ) lake.[2] Later, Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn is said to have prohibited such killing of fish and birds on the lakes.[3] There might have been tremendous decrease in the consumption of meat during the periods of such promulgations, but otherwise meat continued to be consumed in large quantities. There is much difference of opinion in ancient literature on the question of eating of meat. Numerous rules have been recorded[4] about the forbidden and permitted flesh of different beasts, birds and fishes. Āpastamba-dharmasūtra rewards one with the merit equivalent to the performance of the Dvādaśāha sacrifice, who entertains a guest with meat.[5] According to the Vasiṣṭhadharmasūtra, an ascetic who refuses to partake of flesh when requested in a Śrāddha or a rite for the gods, will fall into hell for numberless years.[6] Manu at one place

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[1] R.T., V, 64.

[2] R.T., V, 119.

[3] Jonarāja, 958.

[4] Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, 1.5.17.35; Gautama-dharmasūtra, 17.27-31; Vasiṣṭha-dharmasutra, 14.39-40; Viṣnu-dharmasutra, 51.6; Yājñavalkyasmṛti, 1.177; Rāmāyana (Kiṣkindhu XVII), 39. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, XXXV, 2-4.

[5] Āpaṣtamba-dharmasūtra, II.3; VII.4.

[6] Vaṛsiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, 11.34.

prescribes the killing of animals on no other occasion than in madhu parka, in sacrifices and in rites for gods and manes.[1] But further he[2] expresses his opinion which is shared by Yājñavalkya,[3] that one does not incur any sin, in flesh-eating at the time of emergency (owing to famine or disease) when one is at stake, taking a part of flesh cooked for offering to gods and manes and offered by another or takes the flesh of an animal reared or purchased by him. Manu, on the whole, appears to be an exponent of the principle of ahiṁsā, a principle which is upheld by Viṣṇu and Yasiṣṭha, when he says that indulgence in accordance with the dictates of the Śāstra, in wine-drinking, flesh-eating and sexual gratification which are resultant of natural appetites, is no sin, but putting constraint upon these things even on occasions when they are allowed by the Śāstra bring great rewards.[4]

But the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir, who respected and obeyed more for the injunctions contained in their own Purāṇa which forbids the use of meat only on certain days, have been used to eating meat since ancient times. The Nīlamatapurāṇa[5] prescribes that for

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[1] Manu, V, 41; Vasiṣṭha-dhamasūtra, 6, 5-6. At the same time Manu prescribes (V, 46-55) complete abstention from killing animals even in sacrifices. Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, 51. 69-78.

[2] Manu, V, 27 and 32.

[3] Yājñavalkya, 1. 179.

[4] Manu, V, 56.

[5] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 469.

the celebration of Māghakṛṣṇāṣṭamī, the śrāddha should also contain meat. Yājñavalkya records that entertainment to the Brāhmaṇa invitees ina śrāddha, with flesh of various animals, satisfies the Manes for long periods.[1] But the Nīlamatapurāṇa forbids the eating of meat during the Kārttika Pāncarātra and on the full moon day of Āśvina.[2]

In Kashmir, the flesh of fowl (kukkuṭa), ram (meṣa)and goat (chāga) seems to have been consumed frequently.[3] It appears from Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa that spiced fried meat was much relished which was only under the purview of the rich to afford.[4] We learn from a passage occuring in the Rājataraṅgiṇī that lotus-root (bisa) mixed with fried meat was considered a delicious dish.[5] Aurel Stein writes on the point: 'The roots of the lotus (bisa) are used as a favourite vegetable in Kaśmīr, and generally stewed with meat. Large quantities of these roots, which are known as nadur, are brought daily into Śrīnagar from the neighbouring lakes.'[6] The Kashmiris paid due regard to the

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[1] Yājñavalkyasmṛti, I, 258-260.

[2] Infra, p. 369-370, 377-378.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, II, 74; Narmamālā, I, 124; II, 8.

[4] R.T., VII, 1510; VIII, 1866-1867.

[5] R.T., VIII, 676.

[6] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p. 54 note.

Śāstric injunction and fully recognised the holiness of the cow[1] and the eating of beef was strictly forbidden. Cow-slaughter (gavahatya) and Brahmnicide (Brāhmahatya) were considered as most heinous crimes in the Valley.[1] It was common for the kings to present to the Brāhmaṇas, cows with calves, skins of black antelopes, horses, gold and other things.[2] The list given by Śaṅkha,[3] of the animals which are fit to be eaten, include goats, rams, ruru deer, buffaloes, ordinary deer and spotted deer. Of the animals which are forbidden by Devala quoted in the Gṛhastharatnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, the medieval Mithila writer, mention may be made of cows, camels, asses, horses, elephants, tigers, lions, bears, snakes, rats and mice, cats, mongoose, dog, village hog, jackal, cheetas, monkeys, and human beings. The list as furnished by Alberuni, of the animals whose meat is not allowed to be taken, is in close resemblance to that of Gāhaḍvāla minister writer Lakṣmīdhara and includes cows, horses, mules, camels, asses, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, and nightingales.[4] The above list seems to have been respected in most parts of India. Kalhaṇa looks with contempt on those who

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[1] Narmamālā, I, 57.

[2] R.T., VII, 955; VIII, 76, 2405.

[3] Saṅkha quoted by Aparārka, p.1167.

[4] Sachau, II, p.151; Niyatakālakaṇḍa, pp. 304-308.

ate beef in the land of the Mlecchas.[1] There is mention of the sale of mice in the market and of its purchase to feed the kittens of the cat, but it is doubtful if the same was taken by the people.[2] It is not known if the flesh of the jackal and deer, which were hunted in Kashmir, served the dishes[3] - perhaps not. King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) is recorded to have eaten the meat of domesticated pigs (grāmyasūkara)[4] but the contempt with which Kalhaṇa looks at this attitude of the king in addition to his various other perverted actions, indicates that pig was not eaten then.

As noticed above, the promulgations against the killing of birds do not mention the names of different birds which attracted the tongue of the Kashmirians. From the accounts of modern writers[5] who have given a list of the birds that frequent the Valley, we learn that water-fowl and geese are the most common visitors to the lakes where they are shot by the people. Aurel Stein writes: 'In the winter months vast flocks of wild geese and other water-fowl frequent the Vulur lake, where large numbers of them are shot by boatmen and others for sale in the

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[1] R.T., VII, 789; VIII, 75.

[2] R.T., VIII, 139.

[3] R.T., VI, 181-183; VII, 171; VIII, 699.

[4] R.T., VII, 1149.

[5] Moorcroft, Travels, vol. II, p. 227 sqq; Vigne, Travels, vol. II, p.156; W.R.Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 128 sqq.

city. The lake is also rich in fish, and the population dwelling in the villages near the lake live largely by fishing.'[1] Moorcroft, during the course of his travels found thousands of water-fowl sporting on the lake and while describing them as shy has recorded an interesting mode of their hunt by the people of Kashmir. He writes: 'In shooting them, the Kashmirian sportsman employs a matchlock, the barrel of which is at least ten feet long. When rowed near to the game, he and the single boatman who accompanies him, lie down in the boat so as to be seen as little of as possible by the birds, and then with small paddles and their hands over the sides, gently push the boat onwards until within range: two or three birds generally fall at each discharge.'[2] Of the birds the flesh of which was either allowed or prohibited in the Sūtra and Smṛti literature,[3] reference may be made of wild cocks and peacocks as belonging to the first category while birds like the parrot, haṁsa, cātaka, pigeon, heron and those, which search their food in dunghills, fall in the second category. Pigeons in particular are known to have been considered forbidden food in Kashmir.[4] The Kashmiris like

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[1] R.T.(Eng. Tr.); Stein M.A., vol. I, p.201.

[2] Moorcroft, Travels, vol. II, p.227.

[3] Gautama-dharmasūtra, 17.29.34-35. Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, 1.5.17.32-34. Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, 14.48. Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, 51. 29-31. Manu, V, 11-14; Yājñavalkyasmṛti, 1. 172-175.

[4] R.T., II, 50-52.

the Ladakhis do not eat eggs. Some tiles recovered from Harwan represent cock-fighting.[1] It is difficult to know whether the meat of cocks was eaten.

Fish formed another very important type of food in Kashmir since ancient times. As it can be procured in abundance from the rivers and the lakes, it can reasonably be said that owing to its cheapness it was taken in large proportion both by rich and poor and in particular by boatmen and those who dwelled near the lakes and river s. Fish seems to have been usually fried in oil and perhaps sometimes in ghee and taken along with the rice. Fried fish (matsyāyūṣa) and fish juice (matsyāsūpa) are known as a strength-infusing food particularly to those who indulge .... too much in sexual intercourse, and Kalhaṇa records that king Kalaśa (A.D.,063-1089) who 'disported himself daily with many women, his strength did not fail him, on account of the use of fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs'.[2] In the third upadeśa on the prostitute, Kṣemendra informs us how she is wakeful to maintain her youth (yauvana) by consuming matsyāyūṣa and other nutritious victuals like ghee (ghṛta), kṣīra and onion (palāṇḍu).[3] Meat and fish are among the five tattvas in which

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[1] Infra, p. 302.

[2] Samayamātṛkā, II, 26, 49, 71; Deśopadeśa, III, 32. R.T., VII, 522.

[3] Deśopadeśa, III, 31-32.

the śakti worshippers believed. In the eleventh century A.D., in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, the influence of the Śāktas was great and fish must have been consumed in large quantities, particularly in Kashmir. Fish-juice seems to have been very cheap in Kashmir as it is strangely recorded that some used to feed the kittens of their cats with fish-juice and mice.[1] Fish was particularly used on certain parvaṇa days.[2] Modern writers have recorded more than half a dozen kinds of fish living in the lakes and rivers in Kashmir. Of various kinds of fish the one with snake-like heads, the makara, the ceṭa, fish that live on dead flesh, those that have strange forms like the heads of men or have looks like elephants, are forbidden by Āpastamba.[3] Manu is against all fish (V, 14-15) but allows Pāṭhīna and Rohita if used in rites for gods and Manes and others like rājīva, lion-faced and one having scales.[4] Pāṭhīna was found in Kashmir as Kalhaṇa, in consequence of the promulgation against all living beings by king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) records praisingly 'that at that time the shad fish (Pāṭhīna) left the cold water without fear, and coming to the

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[1] R.T., VIII, 139.

[2] Infra, p. 378, 388.

[3] Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, 1.5; 17.36-37.

[4] Manu, V, 16; Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, 14.41-42. Gautama-dharmasutra, 17.36. Yajñavalkyasmṛti, 1. 177-178.

river-banks sunned their backs in the autumn sun'.[1] Stein writes: 'The Kaśmīr Pandits give this name to the Rāmagāḍ a kind of small fish generally eaten at śrāddhas'.[2] W. R. Lawrence describes the Ramah Gad as of 'Average weight, a chittak; sold at 2 pice a seer, colour dark green. This fish is taken in the Jhelum in June; when the water becomes cold, it retires to the lakes and morasses.'[3]

There was regular use of oil in ancient Kashmir. It appears that mustard oil[4] and other vegetable oils were used for cooking and for lamps. It is likely that sesame oil was used in some of the preparations. Sesame grain (tila) was eaten and particularly offered in sacrifice on the occasion of the Tiladvādaśī festival.[5] We come across references to pastry cakes and oil cakes in the chronicle of Kalhaṇa.

The people of Kashmir who cared strongly for the cow, consumed its milk perhaps together with that of the buffaloes. It is likely that some of the poor and especially the herdsmen

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[1] R.T., V, 65.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Stein, M.A., vol. I, p.195.

[3] W.R.Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.158.

[4] R.T., III, 338.

[5] R.T., III, 426; V, 395.

took the milk of the goats also. Many preparations from milk were known such as butter (sarpis),[1] milk-pudding (kṣīra),[2] ghee (ghṛta)[3], and curd (dadhi)[4]. Ghee was also known as an ointment.[5] The use of ghee on festive occasions was very common.

Sugar (śarkarā)[6] was used for sweetening purposes. Rice and sugar was a common dish. White sugar seems to have been used by the rich as Kalhaṇa records that during the stampede due to the sacking of a palace by the forces of Uccala during the reign of king Harṣa, someone put camphor into his mouth taking it as white sugar but whenit burned his mouth he threw it into the river.[7] Honey (mākṣika)[8] constituted an important part of the diet and was particularly used on festive occasions. Its use for medicinal purposes was known in the Valley.[9]

A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that the practice of chewing betel (tāmbula, parṇa) was prevalent among the kings

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[1] R.T., VI, 143; VIII, 138; Narmamālā, II, 57.

[2] Samayamātṛkā, II, 6; Deśopadeśa, III, 32. Nīlamalapurāṇa, 588.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 123, 127; Samayamātṛkā, II, 79; Deśopadeśa, III, 32. Nīlamatapurāṇa, R.T., II, 78; VI, 143; VII, 306; VIII, 137,140.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 588; Narmamālā, II, 80; III, 8.

[5] R.T., VIII, 140. Infra, p. 381.

[6] Narmamālā, II, 80.

[7] R.T., VII, 1474.

[8] Narmamāla, I, 123; II, 80. R.T., VIII,140. Infra,pp. 374-378.

[9] Supra, p. 217.

and aristocrats. It is not clear whether the betel which was an item of expensive luxury in Kashmir was taken only after meals or at all times. But it is definite that the kings who had betel-bearers chewed it all the time.[1] The costliness of betel can be best gauged by the story narrated by Kalhaṇa. King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1068) who was very fond of the habit of taking betel is described as having given almost the whole revenue of the country to a foreigner, Padmarāja, who used to supply betel to the king. As the king's creditor Padmarāja took from the king 'a diadem which was adorned with five resplendent crescents, and the throne, as a security for more money which was due to him.' Each month on the day of solemn reception, 'these emblems of regal dignity were brought from his house to be used in the royal assembly.'[2] It was considered a mark of honour if the visitor to the king was offered betel by the king himself.[3] Chewing of betel by the officials brought splendour to king Harṣa's court.[4] In his description of an ostentatious voluptuary (viṭa) who is a regular visitor to prostitutes (veiśya), Kṣemendra informs us how the chewing of betal leaves (tāmbula) accompanied with a zigzag speech full of dentals, make him a conspicuous figure

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[1] R.T., IV, 427; VII, 787; VIII, 1304, 2054.

[2] R.T., VII, 190-197.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2054.

[4] R.T., VII, 945.

in brothels.[1] The material at our disposal does not permit us to say more on the subject. In all likelihood, betel which was very costly owing to its importation, must have been used only by the rich particularly on occasion of marriages and other important functions. Nowadays its use is common among all classes. We do not know much about the ingredients that were used with betel in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa incidentally mentions two ingredients, i.e. Nāgarakhaṇḍa and Potāsa.[2] In most likelihood, various other ingredients which were commonly used by their brethren in India proper were known to the Kashmirians. Kṣemendra's references to tāmbula also reveal that it was an expensive luxury in Kashmir.[3]

Kashmir has always been, by nature, very rich in fruit. Some of the Hindu kings laid out beautiful gardens in the Valley. The foremost of the fruits about which both Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa are proud of and which has been mentioned in glowing lines was grapes (drākṣā). The fruit is of excellent quality and is very common in Kashmir and such a thing is difficult to find in heaven, writes Kalhaṇa.[4] Bilhaṇa extols the grapes of Kashmir as 'having the

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[1] Deśopadeśa, V, 15, 17.

[2] R.T., VII, 194, 1124.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 142; II, 6. 18. Deśopadeśa, V, 15, 17.

[4] R.T., I, 42.

best wonderful sweetness in the world',[1] and 'as white as a piece of juicy sugarcane grown on the banks of the /river/ Sarayū' (Drākṣāmanyaḥ sarasasarayū pundrakacchedapāndum).[2] He further writes about the forests of his land yielding the excellent fruit thus: 'The forests whereof, which have creeper-bowers with bunches of grapes yellowish white like the cheeks, washed with sandal-water, of the ladies of Murala, and are the essence of all wonder, are not forgotten even by those who, by dint of merit, attain the status of embellishments in the garden of gods'.[3] The fruit was found in plenty, particularly grown at Mārtāṇda.[4] Grapes were also predominant and cheap in Akbar's time but there is rarity of finer qualities, according to Abul Fazl.[5] Apple (pālevata) was another important fruit of the Valley.[6] Śrīvara records in addition to apple, such fruits as pear (tańka) and apricot (cirā).[7] The pear (li), the wild plum (nai), the peach (t'an), the apricot (hang or mui) and the grap (po-tau) are some of the fruits mentioned by Hiuen

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 2.

[2] Ibid., XVIII, 72.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita (Tr. Banerji), XVIII, 18.

[4] R.T., IV, 192; Fourth Chronicle, 851, 928.

[5] Āin-i Akbari, I, pp. 65, 349.

[6] R.T., VI, 356.

[7] Śrīvara, I, 196.

Tsang.[1] The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions Kapittha, a fruit which is 'produced for a few days on the approach of the clouds'[2] in Kashmir and apart from the region of the North-West Himalaya, is unknown in India. The dictionaries identify Kapittha with 'Elephant-apple' which is not grown in Kashmir. Stein suggests on the basis of Kalhaṇa's description that the fruit which the latter really meant was cherry.[3] According to Watt,[4] both the qualities of the fruit, namely the 'Prunus Avium' and 'Prunus Cerasus' are grown in Kashmir 'where it flowers in April-May and the fruit ripens in June'.

Drinking of wine (madyapāna) was fairly common among the Kashmirians. The Nīlamatapurāṇa[5] specially recommends the drinking of wine on festive occasions. Kṣemendra informs us that on the occasionof Takṣakayātrā, the sale of intoxicant liquors was open for three days during twenty-four hours.[6] In Kashmir, the celebration of great rites (mahāsamaya) was accompanied by heavy drinking as Kalhaṇa records that king Kalaśa (A.D.1063-

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[1] Si-yu-ki, vol. I, p.88.

[2] R.T., IV, 237.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.144 note.

[4] Watt, Dict. of Econ. Prod., VI, p.346.

[5] Infra, pp. 379-80

[6] Samayamātṛkā, II, 88.

1089) used to drink heavily in the company of his gurus on such occasions.[1] Kaśmīr śāktas indulged freely in wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse which are declared to be the five makāras in the procedure of the worship of Śakti.[2] Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa seem to be in favour of moderate drinking and do not want that the affairs of the state should suffer due to the king's indulgence in wine and women. Many regulations about wine-drinking have been prescribed in our ancient texts. But the general tenor seems to be in favour of abstention from drinking of intoxicants, and surā or madya drinking is regarded as one of the grave sins (mahāpātakas).[3] It is stated in the Śāntiparvan that one who avoids meat, honey and intoxicants from one's birth overpowers all difficulties.[4] Gautama, Āpastamba and Manu totally prohibit the Brāhmaṇas from all sorts of intoxicants at all stages.[5] But the Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa who cared more for their Nīlamatapurāṇa which prescribes wine drinking (madyapāna), took wine prepared from grapes and sugar-cane.[6]

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[1] R.T., VII, 523.

[2] Infra, pp. 346-47

[3] Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, 1.7.21.8. Vasiṣṭha-dharmasūtra, 1.20. Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, 35.1. Manu, XI, 54. Yājñavalkyasmṛti, III, 227.

[4] Śāntiparvan, 110, 22.

[5] Gautama-dharmasūtra, II, 25. Āpastamba-dharmasūtra, 1.5.17.21. Manu, XI, 94.

[6] R.T., II, 60; III, 362; IV, 501; VIII, 1863.

It is not unlikely that they drank wine prepared from rice, barley and honey. The richer section of the community used to drink delightful light wine with fried meat, which was cooled and scented with flowers.[1] Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), a sensuous king, had given himself too much to drinking, dice and women.[2] King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa used to drink very heavily and once when drunk ordered the burning of the town of Pravarapura. When his intoxication had gone away he realised his mistake and felt sorrow. Having been told by the ministers that his order had not been carried out, he felt pleased and warned his ministers not to carry out an order in future, which he might impart while intoxicated.[3] Manu, with reference to kings, writes that eight vices are produced by wrath and ten by love of pleasure and among the latter drinking, dice and women are the worst vices of kings.[4]

Of the soft drinks, the Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions a cold (cooled by lumps of snow) sweet drink (tuhina śarkara) which formed a very delightful beverage on a hot summer day in Kashmir.[5]

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1866-67.

[2] R.T., VI, 150-153.

[3] R.T., IV, 310-320.

[4] Manu, VII, 47-52.

[5] R.T., VII, 362; VIII, 1863.

As milk was much consumed the Kashmirians must have experimented with some drinks from it. Gorasa(milk and water which has been churned and from which the butter has been taken) has quite often been mentioned in connection with festive occasions. A cold drink prepared by mixing water with saktu and sugar must have formed then as now, a summer-time drink of the Kashmirians.

Chapter V

COINS AND WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Scattered references in the account of Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra, Jonarāja and Śrīvara help us in reconstructing briefly the monetary system as also the value of the prices and weights and measures of ancient Kashmir.

To evaluate the term Dīnnāra[1] we have to examine the various passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī in which it is spoken of under two heads. Firstly, the Dīnnāras are mentioned in a general way without specification of any particular amount.[2] In this case, judging from the passage,[3] which states under king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), 'Dīnnāras of gold, silver and copper', the term has to be sensed in the general sense of 'coin' or money'. Secondly and more frequently, in statements of cash amounts[4] the term Dīnnāra

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[1] The term Dīnnāra is derived from the Latin term Denarius and is usually taken as the designation of a gold coin, usually spelt Dīnara. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī it is mentioned as Dīnnāra. . The total impossibility of accepting this meaning for figures given in two passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī as they would be incredibly large if calculated in terms of gold. H.H.Wilson (Essay, pp. 58, 62 notes) suggested that the Dīnara mentioned might have beenof copper.

[2] R.T., III, 103; V, 84 sq., 87, 89, 108; VII, 496 sq., 500, 950; VIII, 151 sqq., 883, 3335.

[3] R.T., VII, 950.

[4] R.T., IV, 495, 617, 698; V, 71, 116 sq., 205; VI, 163, 1118, 1220 sq.; VIII, 124, 1918.

is expressed in figures which with very few noted exceptions always go in round hundreds, thousands, lakhs and crores. In this case the term Dīnnāra 'is not the designation of any particular monetary value, but a term of much more general significance, corresponding somewhat to our "cash" or "currency"'.[1] In agreement with this interpretation, we find that in numerous passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the money amounts are meant to be expressed with plain figures without the addition of the word Dīnnāra. A comparison of two passages[2] referring to amounts of salaries shows that whereas the one mentions 'one lakh Dīnnāras' as the daily pay of king Jayāpīḍa's Sabhāpati Udbhaṭa, the other passage refers to the daily pay of Rudrapāla Sāhi simply as 'one lakh and a half' without the addition of the term Dīnnāra. In both the cases the currency meant cannot but be the same. Similarly, in the anecdote[3] of the merchant and the

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[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.309.
It is believed that in the Post-Gupta period, the word Dīnāra was used 'in the sense of any kind of coined money or even cash, thus ceasing to be the designation of any particular monetary value'. Bhandarkar, Indian Numismatics, p.204 ff.

[2] Compare IV, 495 with VII, 145.

[3] R.T., VIII, 124 sqq.

depositor, the sum originally deposited is mentioned as 'a lakh Dīnnāras' (dīnnāralakṣa), but the items of expenditure received by the depositor from the merchant are mentioned in round hundreds to which the word Dīnnāra is not added. No other monetary value but the Dīnnāra is meant by these figures.

Judging from the sums of 100 Dīnnāras for the repair of a shoe and whip, 50 Dīnnāras for ghee as an ointment, 100 Dīnnāras for honey and ginger, 300 Dīnnāras for a load of broken pots and similar other figures in round hundreds for trifling expenses, mentioned in the anecdote referred to above, we cannot but form the impression that the basis of currency must have been a small one. It is only on this basis that we can justify the statements of such big amounts as the daily allowance of 1,50,000 and 80,000 Dīnnāras,[1] assignment of 96,00,00,000 Dīnnāras to the faithful Ekaṅgas,[2] the evaluation of a jewel at 7,00,000 Dīnnāras and the payment of 36,00,000 Dīnnāras,[3] in compensation to a court favourite.[4]

The credit of first recognizing the great value of Abul Fazl's account of the Kashmir currency in the time of Akbar and

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[1] R.T., VII, 145 sq.

[2] R.T., VII, 163.

[3] R.T., VII, 418.

[4] R.T., VIII, 1918.

its bearing on the monetary system of Hindu times belongs to General Cunningham. He noticed the decimal basis of the system and a close connection between Abul Fazl's account and the coinage of the Hindu period. His labours were carried further by Sir Aurel Stein who after a comparison of Abul Fazl's account, and of the surviving tradition with the data furnished in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the later Kashmirian texts, observes that 'the currency of Kaśmīr, at least from the ninth century onwards, was based on a decimal system of values starting from a very small unit'.[1] He gives the following table of the values actually used in reckoning:-

12 Dīnnāras	=	1 Dvādaśa (Bāhgani)
2 Dvādaśa	=	25 Dīnnāras (Pañcaviṁśatika)
4 Pañcaviṁśatika	=	100 Dīnnāras (Śata, Hāth)
10 Śata	=	1000 Dīnnāras (Sahasra)
100 Sahasra	=	100,000 Dīnnāras (Lakṣa)
100 Lakṣa	=	10,000,000 Dīnnāras (Koṭi, Crore)

The following table shows the coins which can be assumed to have represented monetary values of the above description at successive periods, together with their metal and weight.

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[1] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), vol. II, p.322.

Value in Dinnāras	Designation	Early Hindu Coins (up to A.D. 855)	Later Hindu Coins (from A.D. 855 onwards)	Muhammadan Coins	Equivalent Values on Abū-l-Fazl's estimate
12	Dvādaśa (Bāhagani)	...	AE 45 grs.	...	$\frac{1}{8}$ Dām or $\frac{1}{320}$ Rupee
25	Pañcaviṁśatika (Pūntshu)	AE 110 grs. (?)	AE 91 grs.	AE 83 grs.	$\frac{1}{4}$ Dām or $\frac{1}{160}$ Rupee
100	Śata (Hāth)	...	...	...	1 Dām or $\frac{1}{40}$ Rupee
500	...	...	AR 23.5 grs.	...	5 Dāms or $\frac{1}{8}$ Rupee
1,000	Sahasra (Sāsūn)	...	...	...	10 Dāms or $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee
2,000	...	...	...	AE 94 grs.	20 Dāms or $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee
2,500	...	AR 120 grs.(?)	...	...	25 Dāms or $\frac{25}{40}$ Rupee
12,500	...	...	AN 73 grs.(?)	...	125 Dāms or $3\frac{1}{8}$ Rupees
100,000	Lakṣa (Lakh)	...	...	...	25 Rupees
10,000,000	Koṭi (crore)	...	...	...	2500 Rupees

The table shows that the only denomination of coins which can be traced throughout, is the copper coin representing 25 Dīnnāras. Taking into consideration also the vast preponderance of these coins in quantity, the old currency of Kaśmir must be described as one in copper.[1]

What was the unit underlying the system of monetary account? Looking at the only passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī which mentions a single Dīnnāra, it is not clear whether it relates to a separate monetary token or whether it is meant as the subdivision of a larger figure convenient for reckoning. On this point Sir Aurel Stein writes: 'If the Dīnnāra was more than a mere abstract unit of account, it could not well have been represented by any other token than the cowrie. For the weight of copper which would correspond to the twenty-fifth part of a Pañcavimśatika, viz $\frac{91}{25}$, or 3.64 grs., is manifestly too small for a real coin. No copper pieces of this diminutive size are actually ever found in Kaśmir."[2] The view of Sir Aurel Stein has been quoted with approval by modern writers of economic history of our period, such as Puspa Niyogi.[3] B. P. Mazumdar[4] and Lalanji Gopal.[5] This suggests that

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[1]Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.323.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Puspa Niyogi, Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India, p.270.

[4]B. P. Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.218.

[5]Lallanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p.209.

the Kashmirian Dīnnāra and the cowrée were very small units of account but the representation of the Dīnnāra by the cowrée particularly in fractional payments should not be interpreted to mean, in the absence of any reliable evidence, that they were exactly equal in value. If a Dīnnāra had exactly the same value as a cowrée they would have indiscriminately been mentioned in the Kashmirian Chronicles. Speaking of the traditional systems of counting Aurel Stein writes that the popular reckoning in Kaśmir as surviving to the present day, counts the Bāhagani as equal to 8 cowrées, and the Pūntshu as equal to 16 cowrées. He further mentions that a Pandit Iśvarakaula by name, in his Kaśmireśvarakośa (MS.) renders bahagaṅ correctly by aṣṭau varāṭakāḥ (8 cowrees) and Pūntshu by Ṣoḍaśakapardikāḥ (16 cowrees).[1] In all likelihood, this system of counting was prevalent during our period or even before that though nothing can be said with certainty. After quoting this reckoning, B. P. Mazumdar remarks: 'It may be noted here that the Kashmirian Dīnnāra was lower in value than the Cowrie as 8 Cowries were equal to 12 Dīnnāras. It was difficult to import and transport Cowries to Kashmir and this is why its price was higher there.'[2]

The Kashmirian texts reveal that the monetary terms and

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[1] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, pp. 312 note 324.

[2] Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.218.

the system of reckoning followed in Akbar's time and the succeeding centuries, were already in use during the period under review and probably earlier. In the terms Pañcaviṁśatika,[1] Śata,[2] Sahasra,[3] Lakṣa[4] and Koṭi,[5] so often mentioned in statements of money with or without the addition of the word Dīnnāra, we may recognize the Pūnshu, Hāth, Sāsun, Lakh and Crore of Abul Fazl and later times.

Sir Alexander Cunningham has shown that the standard coin type of Kashmir, the standing king and the sitting goddess, which was based upon the Kuṣāṇa coinage, remained unchanged from the time of Kaniṣka in A.D.78 down to the Muhammadan conquest in A.D.1339 or for 1261 years. The Kashmir coinage therefore offers an almost unique example of a coin type remaining unchanged for upwards of twelve centuries.[6] In addition to the

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[1] Śrivara (III, 214) mentions Pañcaviṁśatika as an old copper coin which was reissued by Sultān Hasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-1484), in a debased form due to financial troubles.

Fifty Dīnnāras, equivalent of two Pañcaviṁśatika, are referred to in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (V, 71; VIII, 137).

[2] R.T., V, 116; VII, 1220: VIII, 136-143. Śrīvara, I, 202.

[3] R.T., IV, 494; V, 71, 205; VI, 38; VII, 146. Śrīvara, I, 202. Fourth Chronicle, 347.

[4] R.T., IV, 495; VII, 145, 414, 1118; VIII, 124, 1918.

[5] R.T., IV, 495, 617; VII, 112, 115, 163. Jonarāja, 588-977. Fourth Chronicle, 371.

[6] G. Cunningham, Coins of Mediaval India, pp. 36-37.

uniformity of type, a great deal of constancy in metal and weight is also noticeable from king Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) onwards. The coins we are dealing with consist exclusively almost of copper. The greater number of copper coins of our period which Cunningham considered range from 85 to 95 grains each, the average of about 30 good specimens of 30 different kings being 91 grains. He gives the following table:

Varma Dynasty

No.	Metal	Names	Obverse Seated Goddess	Reverse Standing Raja
1	AE	Aditya Varma	Adi ...	..njita
2	AE	Sankara Varma	Sangkara	Varma
3	AE	Gopāla Varma	Gopāla	Varma
4	AE	Sugandha Rāṇi	Sri Sugandhā	Devya
5	AE	Pārtha Varma	Pārtha	Varma
6	AE	Chakra Varma	Cha...	(Va)rma Deva
7	AE	Unmatti Varma	Sri	Unma /ti/

Mixed Dynasty

8	AE	Yaṣaskara	Yāskara	Deva
9	AE	Parvva Gupta	Sri Parvva	Gupta
10	AE	Kshema Gupta	Kshema Gu-	pta De-/va/

No.	Metal	Names	Obverse Seated Goddess	Reverse Standing Raja
11	AE	Diddākshema Gupta	Di Kshema Gu-	-pta
12	AE	Abhimanyu Gupta	Abhimanyu	Gupta
13	AE	Nandi Gupta	Nandi Gu-	-pta
14	AE	Tribhuvana Gupta	Tribhuvana	Gupta
15	AE	Bhima Gupta	Bhima Gu-	-pta
16	AE	Diddā Rāni	Śri Diddā	Devya
17	AE	Sangrāma Deva	Sangrāma Ra-	-ja Deva
18	AE	Ananta Deva	Anata Ra-	-ja Deva
19	AE	Kalasa	Kalasa Ra-	-ja Deva
20	BiL	Ditto	Kalasa	Prama...
21	AV	Harsha, 73 grains	Horseman with lance to r. Harsha Deva	Goddess seated
22	AV	Ditto, 72 grains	Elephant to right	Śri Harsha Deva
23	AR	Ditto, 23.5 grains	Same as 22	Śri Harsha Deva
24	AE	Ditto	Harsha Raja	Deva
25	AE	Uchchala	Uchchala	Deva
26	AE	Sussala	Śri Sussala some coins are without the Śri	Deva
27	AE	Salla	Salla Ra-/ja/	Deva

No.	Metal	Names	Obverse Seated Goddess	Reverse Standing Raja
28	AE	Jaya Sinha Deva I	Sri Jaya Sinha Some coins have Jaya Sinha Raja Deva	Deva
29	AE	Jaya Sinha Deva II	Sri Vijaya Suta	Sinha Deva
29A	AE	Sri Jaya Siratna Deva		
30	AE	Paramānak	Sri Para/mānaka/	Deva
31	AE	Avanti Deva	Avanti	Deva
32	AE	Jaga Deva	Jaga	Deva
33	AE	Raja Deva	Sri Raja	Deva

The first coin of this table which is ascribed to Ādityavarman (probably meant for Avantivarman) belongs in reality to Nirjitavarman.[1] We attach here the plates bearing these coins.

Sir Aurel Stein agrees with Cunningham's above estimate of average weight and states that the issues of Śaṁkaravarman, Kṣemagupta, Diddā and her successors were extremely common in his time. He also shares the view in taking these coins to correspond to the Pūntshu of Abul Fazl's account.[2] The lighter weight

[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p. 315 note.

[2] M.A. Stain, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, pp. 314-315.

of the Muhammadan copper coins, the average being 83 grains,[1] is due to the debasement caused by financial stringency experienced often in the history of Kashmir.[2] Stein is in agreement with Cunningham in recognizing Kṣemagupta's two half coins weighing 45 grains each, as Bāhaganis.[3]

In this connection we may make mention of the copper coins bearing the name Toramāṇa which, according to General Cunningham,[4] were the first independent coinage of Kashmir, or at least the commencement of a new system of coinage,[5] and have been the direct models for the copper coinage of our period. A passage of the Rajataraṅgiṇī[6] refers to these coins and connects them with a historical tradition. Though the several varieties of these coins show differences in execution and in the characters of the

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[1] General Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, p32.

[2] Financial stringency forced Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) to resort to breaking up and melting down divine images (R.T., VII, 1091 sqq; 1344). Jonarāja records that Sultān Shahābu-d-din (A.D.1355-1373) was advised to issue coins out of the copper images of Śiva Vijayeśvara and the Bṛhadbuddha (Jonarāja, 427 sqq.). We have already referred to Śrīvara's reference to King Hasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-1484) who owing to financial troubles reduced in weight the old copper Pañcaviṁśatika (Śrīvara, III, 214).

[3] Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, p.32. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.315.

[4] Coins of Medieval India, p.37.

[5] Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, 320.

[6] R.T., III, 103.

legend, the general type is preserved all along. These coins which are believed to have served as a model for the coinage of the later Hindu rulers appear to have remained in circulation for a long time. That the coins known by the name of Toramāṇa were in circulation as late as the fifteenth century is evidenced by the chronicle of Śrīvara. The chronicler informs us that Sultān Hasan Shāh, knowing that the coins of the Toramāṇa were no longer in circulation, introduced a new coin Dvidīnnārī made of lead.[1] He further records that the Sultān, being in financial straits, reduced in weight the old copper Pañcaviṁśatika.[2] On this point Aurel Stein remarks: 'The fact of a circulation prolonged through at least eight centuries, the actual abundance of the coins and the variety of dies used for them - all these point to the conclusion that "Toramāṇas" were struck, not only by the king who bore this king, but by a succession of rulers after him.'[3] The average weight of the Toramāṇas is put at 110 grains and as the barbarous coins of the later Kushan princes vary from 100 to 125 grains, Cunningham[4] believes that Toramaṇa had collected

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[1] Śrīvara, III, 213:
Śrītoramāṇadīnnārān nispracārān avetya ca 1
dvidīnnārī nāgamayī navā tena pravartitā 11

[2] Śrīvara, III, 214.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.321.

[4] Later Indo-Scythians, p.63.

them and recoined in his own name.

There is extreme rareness of silver and gold coins of our period which made Aurel Stein to conclude that 'gold and silver cannot have formed in Hindu times an important part of the actual coined currency of Kaśmir'.[1] Prior to those of Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), we do not read of any king of our period having introduced any gold and silver coins.[2] Whereas Harṣa's copper coins bear the usual goddess and king,[3] some new devices are noticeable in his silver and gold coinage. One gold type replaces the standing king by a horseman, the other both in gold and silver, bears on the obverse a standing elephant and on the reverse the king's inscription.[4] Possibly the horseman is borrowed from the device of the Śāhi dynasty.[5] According to Rapson, the elephant type was

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.317.

[2] Narrating an anecdote Kalhaṇa (VI, 45 sqq.) refers to gold coins called Suvarṇarūpakas but these have no relation with the coinage of Kashmir as they are recorded to have been brought from abroad by a Brāhmaṇa.

Before proceeding to his Maṭha to breathe his last, king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) is recorded to have left two and a half thousand pieces of gold bound up in the hem of his dress (dve sahasre suvarṇasya sārdhe). But the general sense of the expression makes it uncertain whether real coins are meant.

[3] Smith, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p.272.

[4] Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, p.45.

[5] Rapson, Indian Coins (Grundriss, II, 3), Strassburg, 1897, p.32.

borrowed from Koṅgudeśa (West Mysore).[1] Aurel Stein is in accord with Cunningham's assumption that the silver coin of Harṣa which weighs 23.5 grains was intended to represent 5 Hāths 'Five Hundreds'.[2] Cunningham gives the weight of two gold coins he includes in his list as 73 and 72 grains and assuming the ratio of 1:8 between gold and silver, he believes that king Harṣa's gold coin was intended for 12 1/2 sāsuns.[3]

In addition to metallic currency, the cowree was used in ancient Kashmir, as elsewherein India, as another medium of exchange. Reference is made to the cowree as the lowest monetary value in a passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[4] which refers to a favourite of king Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028), who started with a cowrie (varāṭaka) but later amassed crores. Kṣemendra gives a description of a miserly trader who, after plundering his customers throughout the day, sends only three cowrees every evening for his household expenses.[5] His Samayamātṛkā[6] refers to another such character who sends his contribution to a dinner party, only one tōla of oil, two of salt, and two cowrees (śvetikā) for veget-

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[1] Ibid., p.36.

[2] Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, p.32. Stein, R.T.(Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.315.

[3] Coins of Medieval India, p.33.

[4] R.T., VII, 112. Jonarāja (588) also contrasts cowree and crore.

[5] Kalāvilāsa, II, 5, 7.

[6] Samayamātṛkā, VIII, 80.

ables. Śrīvara refers to soldiers who did not own a cowree but later made fortunes and decked themselves in golden bracelets.[1] This presumably shows 'that the unit of Kaśmīr monetary system was originally the cowree'.[2]

Before examining the prices in ancient Kashmir, it is important to mention that the measure of Khāri was often used in the sense of a weight for grain and has remained, until quite recently, the standard of weight in Kashmir.[3] Scattered references in the Kashmirian literature are not helpful in forming a clear idea of the system on which it was based in regard to its relation with other measures such as Droṇa (not mentioned in the Kashmirian texts), Tola and Pala. In the Arthaśāstra,[4] we read that 16 Droṇas = 1 Khāri. Droṇa is also referred to as a measure of weight for gains such as wheat, barley, muṅg etc. as also for salt, rāla etc.[5] The Arthaśāstra refers to four kinds of Droṇas, those containing $162\frac{1}{2}$, 175, $187\frac{1}{2}$ and 200 Palas respectively. The difference of $12\frac{1}{2}$ Palas between these figures must have carried some significance. On this point Prannath writes:

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[1] Śrīvara, IV, 100.

[2] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.324.

[3] The Khāri, mentioned in the Ṛgveda (IV. 32. 17), was also used as a weight for grain in some regions outside Kashmir (ASR, 1902-3, p. 258 ff.)

[4] Arthaśāstra, II, 19.

[5] EI, I, p.97 ff; cf. EI, X, p.17 ff.

'The uniform difference of $12\frac{1}{2}$ palas between each of these dronas is very remarkable, and was no doubt intended to serve some definite purpose. The use of the different varieties of the same (nominal) measures of weight has evidently been established from ancient times in India; and perhaps we find a perpetuation of such a system in the different sections of the same market at the present day.'[1] Though the measure of Drona does not appear to have been known in Kashmir and was valued differently in different parts of India, still some idea can be formed from these references. Following the Arthaśāstra equation that 16 Dronas = 1 Khāri, and taking into account all the four values of Drona ($162\frac{1}{2}$, 175, $187\frac{1}{2}$, 200 Palas), we see that a Khāri shall have 2600, 2800, 3000 and 3200 Palas. These figures of values in Palas of a Khāri come sufficiently high to the one (1920 Palas) supposed to have been reckoned in Kashmir. It is seen from a comparison of Abul Fazl's[2] account of the weights and measures and the table of weights used in the last century as given by W.R.Lawrence,[3] that the weights and the divisions of a Khāri (Khar, Kharwār) continued to be the same since the time of Akbar. 1920 Palas are reckoned in a Khāri. Taking the Pala as equal to

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[1] Prannath, A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p.75.

[2] Āin-i Akbari, vol. II, p.366.

[3] The Valley of Kashmir, p.243. Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.196 note

to $3^{3}/5$ Tolas, the Khāri corresponds to $177^{129}/175$ lbs. avoirdupois. The Rājataraṅgiṇī[1] mentions the weight Pala as a measure of grape-juice and wool. In some parts of India, the Pala denoted a weight for saffron and betel-nuts,[2] in others as a measure of oil.[3] In the Smṛtis[4] of Manu and Yājñavalkya, the Pala is referred to as a weight for gold and copper.

Looking back to the prices we have mentioned, it would seem that in normal times the price of rice in Kashmir, during the period under review and in former times, was fairly cheap. We have noticed that before the ninth century A.D. the usual price of a Khāri of rice was 200 Dīnnāras, which would mean that one could buy with 4,000 Dīnnāras or one rupee, 20 Khāris of rice, an incredibly low price. Even if we consider 1050 or 1000 Dīnnāras, the rising prices of a Khāri of rice in times of famine already referred to, and which meant a five times rise from the usual price of a Khāri in peaceful times, we come to a measure of 4 Khāris or approximately 710 lbs. for 4,000 Dīnnāras or one rupee. And in the year of famine under king Harṣa

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[1] R.T., VII, 1220, 1221.

[2] EI, XIV, p.176 ff.

[3] IA, VIII, p.161ff.

[4] Manu, VIII, 132. Yājñavalkya, I, 361.

(A.D. 1089-1101), the price of a Khāri of rice rose to 500 Dīnnāras which means about 10 Khāris of rice could be bought for 4,000 Dīnnāras or one rupee. The account of Śrīvara reveals that during the reign of king Zainu-l-ābidīn (A.D.1420-1470), the price of a Khāri of rice in ordinary years was 300 Dīnnāras while 1500 Dīnnāras were spent in a famine.[1] This shows that during the Hindu period, the average rate for the Khāri of rice remained around 200 Dīnnāras, which reflects the cheapness of rice in ancient Kashmir. In this context we shouldremember the wonderful irrigational reforms carried out during the reign of king Avantivarman as a result of which a Khāri of rice came to be bought for merely 36 Dīnnāras, a fantastically low price. This forces us to admit that the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D.855/56-883) was the cheapest period in the history of Kashmir under review, so far as the price of rice the staple food of the Valley is concerned. And the strong possibility that the rates of other commodities also underwent some reduction cannot altogether be ruled out. If his successor had channelled their attention in this field, the necessity of levying fresh taxation,[2] which deeply oppressed the people, might not have arisen.

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[1] Śrīvara, I, 202.

[2] Supra, pp. 199-200.

The literature provides some, though very little, information about the prices of other victuals and the use of other weights and measures. Referring to the sad condition that followed the famine under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), Kalhaṇa records that the Pala of wool came to be bought for 6 Dīnnāras.[1] As 1920 Palas are reckoned in a Khāri, the price of a khāri of wool was then 11,520 Dīnnāras or less than three rupees. The price of two Palas of grapes (mārdvīka) was one Dīnnāra[2] which implies a price of 960 Dīnnāras or about 1/4 rupee for a Khāri. So we notice that during this famine the price of rice went up about double the usual price in peace time. If we apply similar increases to the price of wool and grapes it would look that a Khāri of wool could be bought in normal times for only 5,760 Dīnnāras or 1 1/2 rupees and grapes for 480 Dīnnāras or about 1/8 rupee. This shows that the prices of rice, wool and grapes were astonishingly cheap in Kashmir in our times. This can be said in the case of other indigenous produce also though admittedly the prices of salt, pepper, tāmbula and hingu and other articles of import were comparatively very high. A fair idea can be had of the extreme cheapness of foodstuffs and other articles of daily use during the period under review from the merchant's account which Kalhaṇa records in con-

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[1] R.T., VII, 1221.

[2] R.T., VII, 1220.

nection with the story of the law-suit shrewdly and wisely decided by king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111). The items counted by the fraudulent merchant are: 600 Dīnnāras for bridge tolls; 100 Dīnnāras for the repair of a shoe and whip; 50 Dīnnāras for ghee as an ointment; 300 Dīnnāras as compensation for a load of broken pots; 100 Dīnnāras for mice and fish juice bought in the market to feed the kittens; 700 Dīnnāras for an ointment and quantities of rice, ghee and honey for a śrāddha; 100 Dīnnāras for honey and ginger for a sick child; 300 Dīnnāras for a beggar; 100-200 Dīnnāras for scent and other offerings to tantric gurus.[1] This shows that about a dozen different items of expenditure covering the necessities of life of a Kashmiri were covered with only half a rupee. We must not forget that these represent the grossly exaggerated charges of a deceitful merchant. Winding up the discussion we are led to say that the prices of food and drinks and other articles of daily use, during the period under question were on the whole fairly cheap.

There are reasons to believe, and there is fair ground for doing so, that Khāris of rice (dhānyakhāri) formed quite often a means of payment of wages, rents[2] etc. and of the collection

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[1] R.T., VIII, 136-144.

[2] In Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa quoted by M.A.Stein R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.328, 'Kharis of rice (dhānyakhāri) are stated in

of the greatest part of the land revenues.[1] That this system of revenue administration continued all along the centuries after the Hindu rule becomes evident from the account of Abul Fazl[2]. M. A. Stein remarks that 'such a system has survived in Kaśmīr to the present day. As by far the greatest part of the land revenue was until quite recently collected in kind, it was the regular system for the state to pay all salaries, grants, etc., in grain or other produce taken from the state stores. Since the reign of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, the amounts payable to servants of the state were nominally fixed in rupees. These summs were then converted into "Śāli" (rice) or other produce available in the state granaries according to the established commutation rates. Previously, however, even these nominal cash rates were unknown in official use, and all salaries, etc., were actually fixed in Kharis of rice. The custom thus established extended to the wages of all sorts of private servants, and has in this sphere been maintained to the present day.'[3] The

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fixed quantities as payments of rents, fines, interests, etc., even in cases where the original amounts forming the subjects of contracts are quoted in Dinnara figures.'

In many passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī (IV, 495; V, 205; VII, 144 sqq.; the wages are referred to in terms of Dinnara.

[1] R.T., V, 171 sqq.; VIII,

[2] Āin-i Akbari, vol. II, pp.366 sqq.

[3] M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, pp. 327-328.

account of W.R.Lawrence is also valuable in this context. He writes: 'In 1889, when I commenced work, it might be said that money prices did not exist. Salaries were paid in grain, and I remember that in 1889, I was requested to take oil-seeds, in lieu of cash, in payment of the salary of myself and my department. Oil-seeds were looked upon as an appreciated currency. Not only did the state pay its officials in grain, but private persons paid their servants in the same fashion, and 16 to 20 Kharwārs of Shali was the ordinary wages of a domestic servant. The currency was to a great extent Shali, and silver played a subsidiary part in the business of the country.'[1]

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[1]W.R.Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.243.

Chapter VI

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

A comparative study of the archaeological findings and the literary works suggests that the dress of the inhabitants of Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era underwent some influence of Central Asian dress. Discussing the representations on the tiles that have been recovered from Harwan and have been dated by him to about A.D. 300, R. C. Kak writes that 'the physiognomy and, to some extent, the dress of the men and women are wholly unlike that of any of the races at present residing in Kashmir, or for the matter of that in India. Their facial characteristics bear close resemblance to those of inhabitants of the regions round about Yarkand and Kashgar, whose heavy features, prominent cheek-bones, narrow, sunk and slanting eyes and receding foreheads, are faithfully represented on the tiles. Some of the figures are dressed in trousers and Turkoman caps. The only period when Kashmir had any intimate connection with Central Asia was during the supremacy of the Kushans in the early centuries of the Christian era, when Kashmir formed part of the Kushan empire, which extended from Mathūra in India to Yarkand in Central Asia..... Among the other decorative motifs which reveal foreign influence

are the figures of mailed horsemen with flying scarves tied to their heads, which are strongly reminiscent of the contemporary Sassanian art of Persia.[1] In one of the tiles from Harwan, a female dancer is represented as wearing a loose robe reaching down to the knees and trousers. She holds a long scarf in her hands, waving over her head.[2] In another tile a female musician who plays on a drum is dressed in trousers.[3] Under Central Asian influence a section of the female population appears to have dressed in loose robes and trousers. In addition to this kind of dress, a loose garment, hemmed in at the middle and reaching the ankles formed another dress of the few, as the tiles show. A figure of common occurrence in some tiles from Harwan represents a lady, dressed in transparent robe which in all cases starts at the middle and reaches the ankle.[4] But what about the upper garment?

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[1] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p.110.

[2] Plate I, figure a.

[3] Plate I, figure b.

[4] Plate II.

It appears that some ladies used to cover the upper part of their body with a stole, as a lady is shown in one of the tiles wearing a thin robe and stole which hangs down in front from the back of the neck.[1] It is curious to note that among the terracotta heads and a number of other pieces of art which have been found at Huṣkapura or modern Ushkar and have been placed at about the same period as that of Harwan by R. C. Kak,[2] there is a broken pair of swelling breasts. Kak describes the breasts as 'large, round, closely pressed, and supported on a cloth (kucabandha) with wavy edge'.[3] Perhaps some women used to cover their breasts with similar breast-binders. This dress, copied from the plains, seems to us to be a forerunner of the sāri. And the menfolk may have dressed in a robe and loose fitting trousers and Turkoman caps. The obvious inference that can be drawn from a curious fragmentary limb of a man, discovered from Ushkar, which reveals the lower part totally nude and the upper part dressed in ornamented jacket,[4]

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[1] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, Plate XXV, figure 8.

[2] Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 152-153.

[3] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.23.

[4] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.24.

that the jacket was also worn by some, especially the kings, princes and the rich.

But the outside influences do not seem to have captured the imagination of a large section of the people and hence lost its popularity as we do not find these types of dresses being mentioned in the literature of the Valley. In addition to the patriotic feelings for their dress, the severe cold weather of the Valley begged of them to remain loyal to their national dress which has been a long cloak reaching the ankles. A perusal of the Kashmirian literature tends to show that with the exception of a few changes here and there, the usual dress of the Kashmirians, both men and women, has since ancient times been a long cloak (prāvāra). A visitor to the Valley can still find the majority of the Pandit class dressed in their age-old dress - a long cloak.

Whereas, during the period under survey, the usual type of dress for both men and women remained the long cloak, we find an introduction of certain changes in fashion. Starting with the account of innovations under King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), Kalhaṇa writes: 'Formerly people in this country had, with the single exception of the king, worn their hair loose, had carried no head-dress and no ear-ornaments'.[1] This passage is a little

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[1] R.T., VII, 922.

confusing as earlier Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra refer to head-dress and ear-ornaments. Even Kalhaṇa in his earlier narrative mentioned head-dress and ear-ornaments. It so appears that he perhaps wants to tell his readers that formerly people had not appeared before the king dressed in head-dress and ear-ornaments as a mark of respect. In the next passage he writes: 'In this land where the commander-in-chief Madana, by dressing his hair in braids, and the prime minister Jayānanda, by wearing a short coat of bright colour, had incurred the king's displeasure, there this ruler introduced for general wear a dress which was fit for a king.'[1] The passage points to the time of king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089). What we get is that he introduced for general wear the dressing of hair in braids, a short coat, gorgeous head-dress and ear-ornaments. Looking at the recruitment of Muslim mercenaries in his army, we back M. A. Stein's hesitant presumption that the introduction of a short coat was in imitation of Muslim custom. We learn from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that king Harṣa was greatly influenced by the customs of the south. Kalhaṇa says: 'As he was fond in his amusements of the Dākṣiṇātya (Dekkan) fashion, he intro-

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[1] R.T., VII, 923-924.

duced a coin-type (taṅka) copied from that of Karṇāṭa.'[1] He further writes: 'His ladies of restless brows wore long garlands formed by their hair-braids into which were /woven/ golden Kataka-lead /ornaments/; the pendants which they wore over their forehead-marks made the latter unsteady; they joined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium; into the ends of their locks which were not veiled, were twined golden strings; with the hanging-down train of their lower garments they kissed the ground; their breasts were dressed in jackets which covered /but/ half the length of their arms.'[2] The garments of the ladies here referred to point to the modern sāri. Even now the wife of a Paṇḍit in Kashmir uses sāri particularly in summer, in addition to the long cloak. During this period rich women in Gujarat also wore coloured and highly ornamented sāri, petticoat and tight-fitting half sleeves and full-sleeved jackets. They perhaps also used a kind of brassiere under the bodice or jacket.[3] Martin Wickramasinghe, discussing the dress in ancient Ceylon,

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[1] R.T., VII, 926.

[2] R.T., VII, 928-931.

[3] A. K. Majumdar, Chalukyas of Gujarat, pp. 356-357.

observes that usually the women did not cover the upper part of their bodies except when they went out of their homes, when they cover their shoulders with a piece of cloth (uturusalu). Though the jacket seems to have been known, it was not worn as a regular custom.[1] Perhaps in Kashmir too, in summer the ladies did not cover the upper part of their body whereas they used to dress their breasts with jackets when appearing in public. We may conclude by saying that before and during the period under survey, the principle type of dress, of both men and women, has been a long cloak (prāvāra). Under the fashions introduced by king Harṣa, some ladies, particularly those belonging to the royal household and very rich families, came to dress themselves in garments broadly spoken of as sāri and men started wearing a short coat. The new fashions do not appear to have been widely adopted, were restricted to royalty and a few rich, while the majority stuck to their usual long cloak. We know from Kṣemendra who, giving a description of the prostitute, described her face as half-covered, that to cover their faces, the ladies perhaps sometimes used a veil.[2]

The long woollen cloak (prāvāra) which both sexes wore was

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[1] Martin Wickramasinghe, Dress and ornament in Ancient Ceylon, pp. 35-41.

[2] Deśopadeśa, III, 32-34.

not sufficient to combat the bitter winds, freezing rains and biting hail to which the Kashmiri was exposed. To protect himself against the severe cold, the Kashmiris invented the kāngar which has been in use since ancient times to the present day. The kāngar or brazier consists of two parts: 'the inner earthenware vessel called kuṇḍal, wherein the fire is placed, and its encasement of wicker-work, which is sometimes very pretty, being tastefully ornamented with rings and brilliantly coloured. A little wooden or silver spoon (tsālan), tied to the handle (kānjih) completes this oriental brazier'.[1] It is a very nice and warm companion to a Kashmiri and whether he is at work or play, awake or asleep, sitting down or walking, he has the kāngar worn on the breast beneath his long cloak. According to M. A. Stein the Kashmiri name kāngar is derived from Sanskrit kāṣṭhāṅgarikā.[2] Rev. J. Hinton Knowles[3] thinks that the word kāngar comes direct from Sanskrit ku (kad and kā) as a prefix implying deterioration, depreciation, littleness and aṅgāra means charcoal heated or not heated. Hence ku + aṅgāra would mean a little heated charcoal, or a small portable

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[1] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, 1885, p.265.

[2] R.T. (Eng.Tr.), Vol. I, p.233 note.

[3] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, 1885, p.266.

fireplace.

Rev. Hinton Knowles writes that 'it has been suggested that the Kaśmiris learnt the use of the kāngar from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal Emperors who frequently visited the valley, during the summer months A.D. 1587-1753'.[1] But the references in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha prove that it was their own invention and is being used in Kashmir since centuries past. Maṅkha writes: 'There (viz. in Pravarapura or Śrīnagar) at the approach of winter, the brazier (hasantikā) which possesses many blazing holes, is flashing in the zenānas like a row of eyes of fire, which Love has adopted in order to conquer Śiva (who had burnedup Love by his only eye of fire).'[2] The word hasantikā occurs also in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, where the sleeping room of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī is called lasad-dīptahasantikā or 'shining with the blazing brazier'.[3] In another passage Kalhaṇa, giving a description of the Brāhmaṇas who had assembled to select a king, refers to their beards scorched by smoke (evidently from the kāngar).[4] The knowledge of kāngar in Kashmir during our period

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[1] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, 1885, pp.265-266.

[2] Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, III, 29.

[3] R.T., III, 171. E. Hultzsch, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XV, p.57.

[4] R.T., V, 462.

is further corroborated by the findings of kāngars along with various earthen vessels from the site of Avantipura datable to the ninth century A.D.[1] Now, many songs and sayings in its praise are extant in the Valley. Two of them are: 'O kāngar, O kāngar, offerings for thee. Thou art a virgin of paradise, thou art a fairy.' The other is 'If there is not the heat of the fire in the bosom, one's precious life will undoubtedly come out'.[2] The Kashmiris were skilled in making pottery and made round earthen vessels for the kāngars in which they excelled and varieties of other useful utensils such as jug, jar, gharā, bowl, hāndī, incense burner, earthen lamp, etc. which have been recovered from the site of Avantipura dated to the ninth century A.D. They made not only figures of gods and goddesses and other pieces of decoration for the temples and houses but earthen ornaments also for personal decoration as Kṣemendra refers to earthen ear-rings used by poor ladies.[3] The basket-makers of the Valley made the necessary baskets for the kāngars and baskets for agricultural and other household purposes. Kashmir appears to have exported kāngars to neighbouring regions particularly to

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[1] Ann. Rep. A.S.I., 1913-1914, pp. 54-58.

[2] Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, p.265.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 75.

the Ladakhis.

The material employed in the preparation of clothing depended on the economic and social standing of the individuals. Whereas the rich used fine woollen, silken and linen clothing according to the weather, the poor had to content themselves with coarse material. Bilhaṇa refers to the use of bark garments by the people of his native land.[1] Some had to satisfy themselves with bhaṅga or hemp-made garments which were also supplied to the prisoners in the jail.[2] Kalhaṇa records that the common people in Kashmir used to wear cloaks made of coarse woollen shawls or fabric (sthūlakambala).[3] Repeated references to the distribution of cows with calves and black antelope skin to the Brāhmaṇas by the kings of our period testify to the latter being utilised in the preparation of garments in addition to other purposes.[4] Hiuen Tsang also observed the Kashmiris, wearing leather doublets and clothes of white linen.[5] It looks from the description of a close-fisted miser who in

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 27.

[2] R.T., VII, 300; VIII, 93.

[3] R.T., V, 461.

[4] R.T., VII, 955; VIII, 2405.

[5] Si-yu-ki (tr. Beal), Vol. I, p.148.

order to curtail the expenditure, dresses himself in leather, that leather garments cost less than other materials.[1] Kalhaṇa records the use of fine woollen blankets (kuthā) by the townsmen.[2] The rich also went in for blankets of hairs of the Raṅku deer which emitted the smell of musk.[3] Kṣemendra refers to tusa blankets.[4] King Sussala (A.D. 1121-1128) was wearing a warm woollen cloak (prāvāra) when he was murdered by the conspirators.[5] Dāmodaragupta describes Cintāmaṇi, the son of an officer, as wearing a yellow coloured gold embroidered cloth.[6] A prostitute is described as receiving Chinese silk (Cīnāṁsuka)[7] from one of her admirers. During our period the use of the turban (śirahśata) was much in vogue.[8] Whereas the common people wore turbans of ordinary material, the rich seem to have adorned themselves with nice-looking silky head-dresses. Head-dresses of white colour seem to have been much favoured

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[1] R.T., IV, 349.

[2] Deśopadeśa, II, 8-16.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 31.

[4] Samayamātṛkā, VIII, 124.

[5] R.T., VIII, 1310.

[6] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 66.

[7] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 344.

[8] Narmamālā, I, 72. R.T., V, 356.

and Kalhaṇa records that white head-dresses shed lustre on the assembly of king Cakravarman.[1] The kings used to wear heavily-ornamented and crescented crowns. We gather from the Rājataraṅgiṇī that a high diadem was fixed on king Harṣa's round, broad head-dress.[2] King Ananta's diadem 'was adorned with five resplendent crescents'.[3] A sculpture of Avalokiteśvara found at Pandrethen is crowned with a three-peaked diadem.[4] A Viṣṇu image from Avantipura is wearing an elaborately jewelled three-peaked tiara.[5] The soldiers in Kashmir wore on their heads the hero's band (vīrapaṭṭa).[6]

The necessity to protect the body with warm clothes throughout the year encouraged the wool industry in Kashmir. The history of 'Kashmir wool' for shawls and other fabrics for which there arose a strong demand in the whole world in more recent times can be traced back to our period. The popular tradition in Kashmir as recorded by Charles Hugel[7] has been that the shawl industry in Kashmir was established by sultan Zainul-Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470) who invited weavers from Turkestan

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[1] R.T., V, 356.

[2] R.T., VII, 876.

[3] R.T., VII, 195.

[4] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.32.

[5] Ibid., p.50.

[6] R.T., V, 333; VII, 665, 1476-1478.

[7] Charles Hugel, Travels in Kashmir, pp. 118-119. Irwin, The

for this purpose. The account of Śrīvara describes Zainul-Ābidīn as a great lover of literature and art. The stories of the sultan's fine tastes spread to other regions and, appreciating his interests in textiles, Rāṇā Kumbhā (A.D. 1433-1468) of Chitor sent him as a present printed cloth called nārīkuñjara[1] and sultan Mahmūd Beghṛā (A.D. 1458-1511) presented him with cloths such as katepha, saglāta and sopha.[2] Śrīvara leaves on record that numerous skilled artisans considering him as the wishing tree flocked from distant places like swarming black bees.[3] As a result the Kashmiris, becoming masters of the intricacies of the shuttles (turī) and looms (vema) now weave beautiful and costly silks. They also weave special woollen textiles (aurṇa, sopha) of foreign origin which are worthy of kings.[4] Looking at the patterns (citra) and creeper designs (latākṛtiḥ) achieved by intricate weaving process (vicitravayana), the painters get silenced as the figures in the painting.[5] The king's costumes and the country

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Kashmir Shawl, Marga, VI, I (1952), pp. 43-50.

[1] Śrīvara, VI, 137.

[2] Śrīvara, VI, 25.

[3] Śrīvara, VI, 27.

[4] Śrīvara, VI, 29.

[5] Śrīvara, VI, 30.

of Kashmir have become famous on account of the silks made of endless yarns, and carefully dyed (varṇavicchitti).[1]

Undoubtedly, the account of Śrīvara is indicative of the great development thattook place in the field of weaving in the time of Zainul-Ābidīn. But on the evidence of Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa it can safely be said that there existed in Kashmir a fine weaving industry much earlier than the fifteenth century. Kṣemendra refers tūsta-prāvārṇa[2] and paryanta-tūstaka.[3] The woollen shawls were manufactured from the wool of the tūṣ goat and we find tūṣ shawls mentioned in later accounts[4] which refer to the great strides that the shawl industry of Kashmir made in modern times. Kāśmīrī and Bhoṭa (Tibetan) shawls find a prominent place in the list of shawls mentioned by Keśava, a seventeenth century Sanskrit lexicon.[5]

At another place Kṣemendra refers to lohitakambala.[6] As in ancient texts,[7] the Kashmirian literature also uses kambala

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[1] Śrīvara, VI, 31.

[2] Deśopadeśa, V, 21.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 72.

[4] Āin-i Akbari. Tuzūk-i Jahāngīrī, I, 384. Bernier's Travels, pp. 402-403. Moorcroft's Travels, Vol. II, pp. 164-218.

[5] Kalpadrukośa (ed. Sharma), 280-282.

[6] Narmamālā, I, 111.

[7] A.V., XIV, 2, 66-67; Divyāvadāna, p.316.

as a generic term for shawl and woollen fabric. Kṣemendra describes the heroine Kaṅkālī while serving as a nurse to a rich man's son, as dressed in a shawl (kambala) reaching to her ankles.[1] Kṣemendra seems to have been fully acquainted with weaving business as he refers to the teacher employed in the house of a kāyastha to teach the children but who, neglecting his duties, whiles away his time in spinning (kastana), drawing out the patterns (likhana) and weaving the patterns on the strips with tujis or eyeless wooden needles (sūcipaṭṭikāvāna).[2] This reference is very instructive and shows the process of shawl-weaving in Kashmir during the period under review. We learn from Kalhaṇa that Saṁkarapura or Pattana, the town founded by king Saṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) was famous for the weaving of woollen cloth and purchase and sale of cattle.[3] All this proves the existence of a good shawl industry in Kashmir during the period under survey. That Kashmir supplied shawls and other woollen goods not only to the neighbouring regions but as far as Western India becomes evident from the account of Udayaprabha Sūri who in his Dharmābh-

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, II, 70.

[2] Narmamālā, II, 45.

[3] R.T., V, 162.

yudaya (written c. 1233) mentions that Kashmir shawls (Kāśmira-vasana) were used for worship in the saṁghas and caityas.[1] Sarūr-us-sudūr, a work composed in the time of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq containing the sayings of Shaykh Farīd-ud-Dīn, records that in the time of Alāuddin (A.D. 1296-1316) Kashmir shawls could be bought in Delhi and that Shaykh Nizāmuddin Auliya possessed one such shawl.[2]

Shoes were an indispensable part of the dress in Kashmir and leather seems to have been chiefly employed for the manufacture of different kinds of shoes.[3] Perhaps black antelope skin, which the Brāhmaṇas usually received as gifts from the kings, was used for preparing shoes.[4] The poor, who also used to wear bark garments, perhaps wore shoes of bark which was available in abundance in forests.[5] Wooden sandals were also known to the Kashmirians.[6] The shoes of the rich and of the aristocrats were decorated, as Dāmodaragupta refers to shoes having steel soles and floral decorations outside.[7] Kṣemendra

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[1] Dharmābhyudaya, I, 71.

[2] Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 13th Session, Nagpur, p.168.

[3] R.T., VIII, 137.

[4] Supra, p.61.

[5] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 27.

[6] Narmamālā, I, 110.

[7] Kuṭṭnīmatakāvya, 64.

mentions a peacock shoe (mayūropānan) and many other articles sent home by the Kāyastha while he is on a tour which perhaps points to shoes having peacock feathers outside.[1] The leather-tanner occupied a low position in society and lived in poor huts.[2]

The urge of men and women to adorn themselves with various kinds of ornaments is reflected in ancient Indian literature. As in other parts of India, in Kashmir also, men and women, rich and poor, wore different types of ornaments of different material. The information which we glean from the literary sources is corroborated by the archaeological findings. Some ornaments were common to both the sexes. Of the important ones worn by the women mention may be made of ear rings (valayayugalam, tāḍiyugalam, taḍidala, karṇikā, karṇakuṇḍala),[3] wristlets (kaṅkaṇa), armlets (keyūra), bracelets (pārihārya),[4] necklaces or chains (hāra, śṛṅkhāla, sūtikā, mālikā)[5], girdles (kāñci, mekhalā)[6] and anklets (mañjīrā).[7] Dāmodaragupta refers to a particular

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[1] Narmamālā, I, 124.

[2] R.T., IV, 55.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, II, 70; III, 326; IV, 720: V, 356, 373.

[4] R.T., V, 359.

[5] Samayamātṛkā, II, 51, 70, 73; VIII, 34. Narmamālā, I, 144. R.T., V, 257, 356-359.

[6] Samayamātṛkā, I, 14; II, 37; VI, 6.

[7] R.T., I, 206-209, 257.

kind of ear ring known as kanakanādi and armlet called valayakalāpī.[1] Bilhaṇa particularly refers to the necklaces as worn by the couples of his native land who 'were ebullient with free sports in the windows of the host of houses on either bank of Vitastā'.[2] Bilhaṇa takes pride in the jingling girdles of the women of his native country.[3] In Medieval Ceylon where ornaments were as extensively used as in Kashmir, the sound of the girdle-band and the anklets is compared to the music of Anaṅga.[4] At another place the Kavsiḷu-mina says: 'Because of the sound produced by the girdle-band, the waist seemed to roar being unable to bear the weight of the breasts, and because of the sound produced by the anklets, the legs seem to roar being unable to bear up the weight of both.'[5] Kalhaṇa also refers to the jingling of a lady with her graceful anklets.[6] All these and many other kinds of ornaments were commonly used all over ancient India.[7]

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[1] Kuṭṭanimatakāvya, 342, 358.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 9.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 17, 21.

[4] Kav-siḷumina, 293.

[5] Ibid., 205.

[6] R.T., I, 247.

[7] Rāmacharita, III, 33-34. Naiṣadhacarita, I, 38; VII, 80, IX, 104; X, 116; XV, 33.

In the Triṣaṣtiśalākapuruṣacarita[1] of Hemacandra, tilaka is mentioned as the fourteenth ornament for a woman. Kalhaṇa records that in the time of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), the ladies wore pendants (tilaka) over their forehead-marks. In addition, they wove their hair-braids with golden ketaka-leaf ornaments (suvarṇaketakapatrāṅka). The ends of their locks were twined with golden strings (keśāntabaddha-hemopavītakāḥ).[2] It may again be mentioned that these fashions introduced by king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) seem to have been confined only to the royal ladies and those belonging to rich families. We know from Kṣemendra that whereas the rich ladies adorned themselves with ornaments of silver, shell etc., the poor had to content themselves with those of earthen-ware (ladanmṛtkarṇabhuṣaṇa).[3]

The kings of Kashmir adorned themselves with profusely jewelled ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, finger rings, pearl strings and ear rings.[4] Writing on the ornaments worn

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[1] Triṣaṣtiśalākapuruṣacarita, I, 229.

[2] R.T., VII, 928-931.

[3] Narmamālā, I, 75.

[4] R.T., III, 241; IV, 69, 440, 458.

by the kings, Abu Zaid says: 'They [i.e. the kings of the Indies] wear also collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of diverse colours, but especially green and red; yet pearls are what they most esteem; and their value surpasses that of all other jewels ..... The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains wear the like jewels in their colours.'[1] In Kashmir, whereas the ministers, influential kāyasthas, rich merchants and others of sound means used precious ornaments, the poor had to satisfy themselves with those of cheap and coarse material. Whereas Cintāmaṇi, the son of an officer, is recorded in the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya of Dāmodaragupta as wearing gold necklaces, finger rings and two kinds of ear rings viz. dalabīṭaka and sīsapatraka, his attendant is wearing round his neck cheap kācavartakamālā and bangles of conch shell.[2] Kṣemendra describes a saffron merchant's son as wearing an ear ornament (karṇābharaṇakāñcana) and gold finger rings (hemavālakavālikā).[3] Ornamental ear rings known as kuṇḍala like those of women and gold chains (śṛṅkhalā) were worn by the male population.[4]

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[1] Ancient Accounts of India and China, pp. 98-99.

[2] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya 63-65, 67.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, II, 10-11; VII, 13 ff.

[4] Samayamātṛkā, II, 51. R.T., IV, 720: V, 373.

In Kashmir, various ornaments were not only studded with various kinds of gems and stones but bore different designs. Besides, in some cases the ornaments bore the name of the wearer as the story of king Jayāpīḍa reveals. Jayanta, the king of Puṇḍravardhana in Bengal, learnt about the presence in his territory of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir.by a bracelet bearing the latter's name, which had been found between the teeth of a lion killed by Jayāpīḍa.[1] It may passingly be mentioned that, as in Kashmir, in Mediæval Ceylon also, the ornaments besides being studded with various kinds of stones, bore different figures also.[2]

The archaeological material corroborates the information derived from the literature. Some tiles from Harwan portray men and women seated on a balcony. They show large ear rings, necklaces, armlets and wristlets.[3] Another tile represents a standing woman, holding a vase of flowers on upraised right hand. She also wears the same kind of ornaments.[4] Other tiles have a

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[1] R.T., IV, 456-458.

[2] Saddharma-ratnāvaliya, 337.

[3] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XX; pl. XXII, figures 1 and 2; pl. XXIII, figures 3 and 4.

[4] Ibid., pl. XXIV, figures 5 and 6; pl. XXV, figure 7.

standing female musician and a female dancer respectively. Both wear large ear rings.[1] Another tile shows a standing soldier with different weapons. He, too, wears large ear rings.[2] The sculptural fragments from Ushkur also say much in this direction. Of a shoulder piece, 'the upper arm is adorned with a beaded armlet which seems to have been connected by a similar band with the necklace'.[3] A fore-arm piece has a bangle round the wrist.[4] Two other fragments of a fore-arm are dressed in beautiful wristlets.[5] Another fragmentary piece of left hand wears a ring on the little finger.[6] The Bōdhisattva Avalōkiteśvara from Pandrethan is wearing 'heavy jewelled wristlets, an elaborate jewelled necklace, a garland disposed in the manner of the Brahmanical thread, a jewelled girdle to fasten the short dhōtī with, and a long and loose flower garland which almost frames in the body on all sides'.[7] On a fragment from Pandrethan is depicted a pair of

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[1] Ibid., pl. XXVII, figures 11 and 12.

[2] Ibid., pl. XXIV, figure 6.

[3] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p. 26, BC. 52.

[4] Ibid., p.26, BC. 63.

[5] Ibid., p.26, BC. 64 and 66.

[6] Ibid., p.26, BC. 68.

[7] Ibid., pp. 31 and 32.

flying Gandharvas. They are profusely ornamented with necklaces, ear rings and strings of pearls.[1] Other fragments from the site also show the same kind of ornaments.[2] In an upper part of a relief representing the birth of Siddhārtha, the queen-mother Māyā and her sister are adorned with various kinds of necklaces, armlets, wristlets, ear rings and other head ornaments.[3] The two sculptures of Bōdhisattvas from Parihāsapura wear low-hanging necklaces.[4] A Yakṣa from Parihāsapura is elaborately ornamented with various types of low-hanging necklaces, armlets, wristlets and waist bands.[5] Three Viṣṇu images from Avantipura are verymuch alike and are heavily ornamented in jewelled necklaces, armlets, bangles and waist bands.[6] In a piece of sculpture representing Ardhanārīśvara, the hand of the goddess is profusely ornamented with wristlets.[7] A mutilated sculpture of Śrī, the goddess of Fortune, from Vijabror, wears large ear rings, a different set of necklaces

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[1] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.35.

[2] Ibid., p.36.

[3] Ibid., p.38.

[4] Ibid., pp. 43 and 44.

[5] Ibid., p.46.

[6] Ibid., pp. 48, 50, 52.

[7] Ibid., p.54.

and armlets.[1] A Viṣṇu from the same site has a necklace and armlets on his body.[2]

It is interesting to note that on a pair of swelling breasts found at Ushkur there appears not only a pearl necklace but also another chain of pearls running over the breasts.[3] From this it follows that the ladies of Kashmir used to wear chains of pearls on the breasts. This ornament seems to have been in vogue in Medeival Ceylon also as Wickramasinghe conjectures. Explaining this, he writes that this chain was connected with the pearl necklace, and further fell between the breasts and then round the breasts.[4]

There appears to have been a well developed industry in jewellery in Kashmir during the period under survey. The Kashmirian goldsmiths were experts in jewellery making. Kṣemendra, who appears to have been zealously fond of jewellery and possessed first-hand knowledge about it, gives in his Kalāvilāsa some very valuable information about the technical processes and implements employed by the Kashmirian goldsmiths as also

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[1] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.59.

[2] Ibid., p.61.

[3] Ibid., p.23.

[4] Martin Wickramasinghe, Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon, pp. 52, 53.

their methods of cheating the customers. He informs us that the goldsmiths used hard and soft touch-stones to test the quality of gold and also to deceive the customer.[1] Their stone-weights (tulotpala), oily, sweaty, sandy, waxy and hot, were meant for false weighing.[2] For the dishonest, the crucibles (mūshā) were double-sided (dviputā), liable to break after absorbing gold (suvarṇarasapāyinī) or enabled the dishonest goldsmith to mix stealthily with it copper, lead etc.[3] The cheating goldsmiths also manipulated the scales by making them uneven, hollow, crooked, soft, knotted and heavy. They used mercury to make the pans heavier. Cut edges were also kept. Weighing in heavy wind when the dust accumulated in the pans gave them an opportunity to falsify the weight.[4] It appears as if Kṣemendra had visited the goldsmith's shop when writing about his fire he says that the flames were ringed, smoky, crackling and slow. Those dishonest goldsmiths purposefully put copper powder in it in order to mix it with the molten gold.[5] Kṣemendra does not forget to tell us the technique employed by the goldsmiths

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[1] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 4.

[2] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 5.

[3] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 6.

[4] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 7-8.

[5] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 10.

to impart false shine to ornaments. For this they put soda and salt in a slow cowdung fire and heated the ornaments in it.[1] Another method employed by the dishonest goldsmiths was to secrete particles of gold in repoussé ornaments which were to be provided with the lac cores so that the gold particles could be easily removed at the time of providing the lac cores.[2] Ujjavalanā was the process of polishing or burnishing, and aśmakalā the process of fixing gold plate on the stone mould to obtain the desired design in repoussé after heating it into the required design.[3] The account of Kṣemendra demonstrates the technical process involved in jewellery making in eleventh-century Kashmir.

In this connection we may mention that gold washing in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, seems to have been a profession for some of the Kashmirians, particularly carried out in the upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley. Gold washing in ancient times by the Dards of the Kiṣangaṅga Valley is referred to in the classical notices.[4] Presumably, Bilhaṇa[5] knew of gold carried by the

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[1] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 13.

[2] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 15.

[3] Kalāvilāsa, VIII, 16.

[4] Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p. 280

[5] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVII, 5.

Kiṣangaṅgā River and its tributaries. The frontier watch-station or the Draṅga referred to by Kalhaṇa 'situated on the direct route from the Uttar Pargaṇa to the Śārada Tīrtha (Śardi) on the Kiṣangaṅgā is known to the local Brahmans as Sunadrang, the "Gold-Drang", and hence its names appears in the Māhātmya as Suvarṇārdhāṅgaka'.1 It is not certain whether there was duty of any kind on the river gold during the Hindu period as Kalhaṇa is silent on the subject. But Sultan Zainul-ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470) is said to have levied a tax on the gold washers according to which they had to give to the state one sixth of the gold they collected.[2] Most probably Jonarāja's reference to gold washing points to the Kiṣangaṅgā Valley.

Ivory was much used in ancient Kashmir in the manufacture of ornaments and other articles and medieval Kashmir seems to have been a centre of ivory carving.[3] Dāmodaraguptа records Cintāmani, the son of an officer, as wearing in his pendulous ear an ornament of ivory (dantapaṅkti) which had a swordlike (karpatraka) end.[4] Kṣemendra describes the Niyogi as wearing a

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[1] M.A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.196 note.

[2] Jonarāja, 885 seq.

[3] B.P.W.M., 1955-57, No. 5, pp. 37-48.

[4] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 62.

cap made of tiny strips and peaked (susūkshmadalavinyāsa-vibhagonnataṭippikam).[1] The Deśopadeśa of Kṣemendra refers to ivory figures. Kṣemendra asserts in a double entendre that 'the wealth of a miser lives in his dirty teeth and the blanket browned with smoke in the same way as the goddess Śrī of the untouchable Chaṇḍāla lives in the figures made of dirty ivory (danteṣu malapūrṇeṣu) which are wrapped in their dirty blankets'.[2] Similar figures are referred to in the Harṣacarita as well. Rājyavardhana expresses his desire to relinquish the royalty thus: 'I want to give up Rājyalakṣmī in the same way as the untouchables throw away the ṭesū figures decorated with variegated rags obtained from the shrouds, pleasing to people and stuck to the bamboo top.'[3]

In Kashmir, men like women, were in the habit of keeping long hair. They kept long beards and moustaches. The usual style of dressing the hair appears to have been brushing it upwards and perhaps gathering it in a knot at the back. One of the terracotta heads from Ushkur depicts a Brahman ascetic. He has a shaggy beard and 'the hair is neatly brushed upwards and

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[1] Narmamālā, I, 47; tuppika in I, 110.

[2] Deśopadeśa, II, 30.

[3] Agarwala, Harshacharita, p.117.

was probably gathered in a knot at the back of the head where it was kept in position by an ornamental band'.[1] Another terra-cotta head of Bodhisattva from Ushkur shows an ornamental treatment of the hair. The twisted dandified locks are secured by a beaded fillet placed sidewise.[2] The rich fashionable Kashmiris appear to have treated their hair in such ornamental ways. Damodaragupta informs us that fashionable people attached combs to their long hair.[3] He also records that their hair was, at times, joined with tassels of various colours.[4] The Rajatarangini refers to hair braids (jutasraj . .)[5]. The hair of a Visnu image from Avantipura, crowned with jewelled three-peaked tiara, is 'arranged in very neatly frizzled curly braids which fall regularly upon his shoulders'.[6] To the same place belongs heads of a three-headed Siva whose hair is 'gathered in an ornamental coiled knot on the top'.[7] And the hair of Sri, the goddess of Fortune, from Vijabror 'is brushed back and gathered in a two-horned knot on the top of the head'.[8] Such a style might

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[1] R. C. Kak, Handbook, pp. 14-15.

[2] Ibid., p.15.

[3] Kuttanimatakavya, 62.

[4] Kuttanimatakavya, 65.

[5] R.T., VII, 928.

[6] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.51.

[7] Ibid., p.56.

[8] Ibid., p.59.

have been practised by some. But the most common style of dressing the hair, for both male and female, was to brush it upwards and collect it sometimes in a knot at the back of the head, and sometimes falling in tresses on the shoulders. The hair of both men and women who have been depicted in different postures on the tiles from Harwan, is dressed in this fashion.[1] The hair of an Upāsikā head from Ushkur is 'smoothly combed back and falling in curly tresses on the shoulders'.[2] The royal ladies had braids of hair.[3] At times the women wore different kinds of flowers in their locks.[4]

The literature of the Valley makes constant reference to the application of various unguents by both the sexes. The importance of various kinds of cosmetics was fully realised in Kashmir and the most frequent reference is to anointing the body with saffron paste since saffron (kuṅkuma), being an important product of Kashmir since ancient times, was available in abundance. But it is seen that the narrative of Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to the use of saffron as an unguent as a royal

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[1] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pls. XX, XXII, XXIII.

[2] R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.21.

[3] R.T., VII, 928.

[4] R. T., VII, 928-931.

prerogative.[1] Bilhaṇa refers to gracious breasts of 'the women of Kashmir, warm with a smear of smooth saffron-paste'.[2] Kalhaṇa refers to its application by the male population and his narrative reveals that it was mostly applied on the forehead.[3] Sometimes the Kashmirian kings, who kept long beards, are said to have painted them with saffron ointment.[4] Kalhaṇa points out that it was considered a mark of honour if one was bestowed with saffron ointment and other such things by the king.[5] In addition, the ladies applied sandal-wood paste and camphor. They 'joined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium'.[6] In order to look more attractive and gay, some reddened their lips and feet with lac.[7] We have already referred to the prevalence of the practice of chewing the betel as a luxury in Kashmir. It seems to have formed an important part of the toilet and an aid to beauty for the rich and aristocrats. The betel struck an observant eye of some of the foreigners. In the eighteenth century Careri

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1119, 1897, 3166.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 31. [3] R.T., VIII, 3100.

[4] R.T., VI, 120.

[5] R.T., VIII, 1119.

[6] R.T., VII, 928-931.

[7] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 7.113.

enthusiastically remarks: 'The betal makes the lips so Fine, Red and Beautiful, that if the Italian Ladies could, they would purchase it for the weight of gold.'[1]

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[1] Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, (ed. S.N.Sen), pp. 205-206.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

In Kashmir, which is a place of enjoyment on account of its natural beauty with its picturesque and magnificent mountains, lakes, springs, forests, glens, streams, beautiful flowers, chattering birds and pleasing gardens, the people amused themselves in their leisure time by many kinds of sport, singing, dancing, music and drama. Though the literature acquaints us with the names of a number of games, we do not obtain detailed information on this subject. Some tiles discovered at Harwan bespeak indeed about some of the games. Both the literary and the archaeological sources reveal that music, dancing, singing and theatre were widely cultivated in ancient Kashmir.

The most popular forms of amusement both for the kings and the people seem to have been water sports and park amusements. The kings of Kashmir being fond of sport and amusements, not only had royal gardens and tanks but some of them and some ministers as well had gardens and pounds made for the common people. The gardens of Kashmir, records Bilhaṇa, 'have a wonderful arrangement on account of the closeness of the sport-trees dark with swarms of hovering bees; there the women awaken with their glances the flower-bowed one (i.e. Cupid) asleep in the myriad twigs which are like the burning wrath of the unrestrained Śiva'.[1] The poet-

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 13.

historian further records that 'there is no pleasure-garden where there is no tank for amorous sports; there is no tank where there is no lady who is the alluring instrument of Cupid, and there is no such lady into whose amorous snare of deep love young men, overpowered by strokes of erotic discourse, do not certainly fall'.[1] Kalhaṇa records that with the exception of the wishing tree (kalpadruma), all other trees were found in the Nandana grove of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).[2] King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) is said to have had a passion for restorations (jīrṇodhdhṛti), and we are told that under his careful direction many gardens, tanks, temples and maṭhas were restored.[3] Referring to the foundations of some ministers of king Jayasiṁha Kalhaṇa writes that Śṛṅgāra (the eldest brother of the poet Maṅkha), who was holding the post of tantrapati, got constructed a maṭha, a garden and an oblong tank by the hill of Śrīdvāra.[4] In the royal gardens the kings of Kashmir seem to have sported with their queens, enjoying nature and amusing themselves with singing and dancing. Park amusements constituted an

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 20.

[2] R.T., VII, 939.

[3] R.T., VIII, 2376-2380.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2422.

important diversion of Indian kings since ancient times and we find Jātaka stories mentioning the special seat of the king in the park 'from where he watches the girls sing and dance while resting on the lap of one of his favourite queens'.[1] The gardens in Kashmir provided amusement also to the common people in their leisure time.

In Kashmir water sports appear to have been popular though we do not get any detailed description of them. Bilhaṇa writes that in Kashmir, 'having wiped off saffron paste from the slopes of breasts of women during their passionate bathing sports and holding the lover on the lap, the Jhelum, as if out of infinite anger due tojealousy, every moment pulls their locks, black like bees, with hands in the shape of waves.'[2] Bilhaṇa's reference to amorous sports in the tanks shows that water sports provided more sensual pleasure than anything else. The kings and queens, men and women, all amused themselves with water sports in tanks and rivers but we do not glean definite information how exactly they played. It appears that Bilhaṇa who earlier in the tenth canto of his Vikramāṅkadevacarita, describes in some detail the practice of water sports in Karṇāṭaka, did not think it proper to repeat again the detailed information of their mode

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[1] R. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, p.114.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 10.

of play while referring to the same played in his native land. As he fully knew the scenes of water sports and other pleasures of pleasure-gardens enjoyed by the Kashmirians, it was easy for him to mix this information with the one he wanted to describe about the people of Karṇāṭaka. To get some information on the subject we will fall back on the tenth canto where Bilhaṇa starts with the poetic description of the pleasantness of Caitra and describes how his hero Vikramāṅkadeva takes the hand of his beloved mistress Candralekhā and enters the beautiful pleasure-gardens. Vikramāditya is made to say words of praise to her beautiful queen but the verse is instructive in which he says: 'O fawn-eyed one, you having come to witness dancing the creeper-ladies with the falling flowers, are as if throwing handfuls of flowers on the stage of the pleasure-garden.'[1] The passage reveals that the gardens were equipped with stages where were staged dancing and musical performances watched by the kings in company with their queens. Then the king places his mistress on a pleasure-swing. Describing the scene of the swing Bilhaṇa writes at one place: 'Whenever the swing creaked loudly under the weight of her buttock, Cupid, with the twang of his bow-string unperceived pierced the king.'[2] There is an elaborate description of the

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 23.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 34.

pleasures achieved by the queens in the plucking of flowers. The king enjoys the kisses and embraces of his queens and ties their locks with garlands of flowers. Finally Bilhaṇa gives a life-like description of the water sports in the tank when the king enters 'with those women the pleasure-tank, decked with lotuses, like a lord of elephants in the company of female elephants'.[1] Bilhaṇa describes the sport scenes thus:

'The tank having washed with its wave-hands, the feet of the ladies of the king as if saluted the water of their feet with water-drops splashing upwards.'[2]

'The shower of water, thrown with the hand by the king on the couple of breasts, which vanquished the temples of elephants of the lady of charming eye-brows assumed the likeness of sharp arrows discharged by the five arrowed god (i.e. Cupid).'[3]

'The showers of water, thrown by the king at the tip of the earring-jewel of the lady whose eye-brows were charming and whose neck was curved, were reduced to minute particles and assumed the beauty of pearls there.'[4]

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 70.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 74.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 84.

[4] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 85.

'The water, playfully thrown by the king, rolled on the pitcher-like breasts of the queen. It is surprising that the creeper of the anger of her rival women had its leaves upturned.'[1]

It is seen that enjoyment was derived from nature, games of swing, dance and music and water-sports which constituted diving, swimming and splashing. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that all this was practised in ancient Kashmir with equal zeal if not with more enthusiasm than anywhere else. It may be mentioned that in Ceylon also park amusements (udyāna-krīḍā) and water sports (diyakeli) were very popular and the common bathing scenes mentioned were swimming, diving from one another's shoulders and splashing of water at each other.[2] The Kashmirians specially indulged in water sports on certain festival days.[3]

The game of swinging was another means of diversion with the ladies of Kashmir.[4] The game which was also very popular among the ladies of Kalyāṇa has been described by Kashmirian Bilhaṇa in these lines which fit the practice in Kashmir: 'The

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 86.

[2] Kav Siḷumiṇa, 511, 513, 517, 570.

[3] Infra, p. 398.

[4] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 22.

swing-sport of the ladies with beautiful eyes looked beautiful like the aerial car of Lord Cupid, a series of palaces of the king of erotic sentiment and the signs of all the seasons in /the month of/ Caitra..... The sportive women, on account of the pleasure of swinging, going high up and then returning assumed half the charm of divine women who were in the firmament..... Young men could see that, which is inaccessible even to desires, of the beautiful-eyed women who sat onthe swings spreading out their legs and whose cloths were falling off. The ladies, with the immobility of their buttucks slackened, repeatedly going high up and coming down, owing to their fatigue being overcome by the swing sport, acquired proficiency in the acts of men.'[1]

Surrounded as he is with nature, a Kashmiri would go to some lake and enjoy the lovely surroundings enlivened by the chattering birds and swimming swans. He would hire a boat if he likes and enjoy the journey in the water of a river or a lake refreshing himself with the picturesque mountains and lovely trees. He would be extra-delighted if his boatman runs a race with another of his classmen. Boat racing appears to have formed in ancient times as now, a very popular form of amusement. The ancient Kashmirian would enjoy the songs sung by the boatman in the middle

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, VII, 15-23.

of the water. Rowing appears to have constituted another lively form of amusement. Fishing is another way to get amused. As the Kashmirians are surrounded by sheets of water, not only the professional fishermen but the common man would go in his leisure time to a river bank or a lake with fishing paraphernalia and would kill two birds with one stone - nature bathing as well as fish present. Archaeological findings from Harwan depicting on the tiles scenes of the couples sitting on the balcony of their houses[1] supplement the literary account that Kashmirians, housed on the banks of the rivers[2] or lakes, amused themselves looking at the lovely clear water with waves of different tides, plying boats and distant mountains. The nicely decked ladies participated in the Charchari dance and made merry by sprinkling water at each other.[3] In Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, quite a popular and favourite game was playing with a ball (kandukakrīḍā).[4] The ladies also amused themselves by playing with dolls and sometimes with strings attached to them.[5]

Horse was the animal par excellence and the popularity of horse-riding and hunting in ancient Kashmir is testified to

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[1] R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plates XX, XXII, XXIII.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 9. Giving a description of Pravarapura, Bilhaṇa writes: 'On the side of which that principal river (viz. Vitastā), born of Śiva, strewn with the necklaces torn by the couples who were ebullient with free sports in the windows of the host of houses on either bank of it, assumed the likeness of the Ganges in the sky decorated with stars.'

[3] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 886.

both by archaeological and literary sources.[1] A tile from Harwan depicts a horseman in armour, riding at full gallop a fully accoutred horse and drawing his bow.[2] Other tiles represent a mounted hunter who is aiming an arrow at a fleeing deer.[3] Quite a number of references to the horse in the Rāja taraṅgiṇī reveal that Kalhaṇa himself must have been a horseman. 'With difficulty I get my song to proceed, since from fear of touching the evil of this king's story it keeps back like a frightened mare.'[4] He belonged to a horse-riding family and informs us that his father Caṇpaka once had a quarrel with prince Bhoja over a mare.[5] Kalhaṇa informs us that 'no other king was so passionately fond of riding as Uccala, and no one was more renowned for his skill in this respect than Sussala'.[6] In the Rājataraṅgiṇī we get a reference to a horse called 'sovereign of the stable' (maṇḍurācakravartin).[7] In Kashmir as elsewhere,

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[4] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 361.

[5] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 728.

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[1] R.T., VI 158; VIII, 582.

[2] R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XXIII.

[3] Ibid., plates XXVIII and XXIX.

[4] R.T., VII, 416

[5] R.T., VII, 1591.

[6] R.T., VIII, 497.

[7] R.T., VIII, 1285-1286.

the horse played an important part in the military operations and the Rājataraṅgiṇī is full of references to the march of mounted troops (aśvavārā). The royal stables appear to have been lustred by horses of different breeds. Among the various presents that King Zain-ul-ābidīn (A.D.1420-1470) received in recognition of great interest he showed in various arts, Śrīvara mentions from the ruler of Pañcanada (Panjab), presents of horses of tājika breed bearing auspicious marks (kalyāṇa-pañchaka) on their bodies.[1]

In Kashmir deer and jackal-hunting appears to have been very popular.[2] Kalhaṇa informs us that king Kṣemagupta (A.D.950-958) spent much time in the enjoyment of jackal hunting. 'The people saw him ever roaming about with dogs and surrounded by bands of Ḍombas carrying nets and jungle folk.'[3]

A study of the tiles discovered at the site of Harwan reveals that cock-fighting (tāmrachūḍavinoda) was popular in Kashmir. Some tiles represent two cocks fighting with each other over what appears to be a flower.[4] Despite cock-fighting, the display of snake dances by the snake-charmer,[5] gave delight to the man

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[1] Śrīvara, VI, 4.

[2] R.T., VI, 181; VII, 171; VIII, 699.

[3] R.T., VI, 182-183.

[4] R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plates XXIX and XXX.

[5] R.T., V, 338-340; VIII, 3027.

in the street.

A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī reveals that duels were encouraged by some of the kings of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa records that king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) used to take excessive pleasure in duels by arranging them on festive occasions, particularly on the monthly reception-days and at Indra festivals. The participants were rewarded with rich presents.[1] The cruel king used to amuse himself when he watched warriors killed who had 'glistening black hair, fine beards and splendid apparel'.[2] The chronicler writes pathetically: 'There was not at that time any festival when the ground in the court of the palace was not drenched with blood, and lamentation not heard. Soldiers of noble race, as if in exultation, were carried away mutilated from the palace court by their relatives..... The women, when their husbands returned alive after going to the royal palace, thought that they had gained a day, but otherwise never felt safe.'[3] It is to be noted that the enjoyment he took in arranging these bloody fights between those who excited his jealousy and anger was as much to his pleasure as to his cunning and shrewd policy. He wanted to eliminate those who were a danger to his throne. Duels were known in other parts

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[1] R.T., VIII, 169-170.

[2] R.T., VIII, 173.

[3] R.T., VIII, 171-174.

of India as well, as we learn that the Cālukya king Someśvara allowed such fights on Saturdays or when the rival parties refused to settle their claim peacefully. The Mānasollāsa classifies the duels under eight heads in accordance with the occasinn.

Among indoor games Kalhaṇa mentions dice and chess[1] as those most in favour but does not inform us about the manner in which these games were played. But in two passages of the eighth taraṅga Kalhaṇa[2] gives similes viz., kings, horsemen, peons and the rest from the game of chess, known in Sanskrit as caturaṅga (hastin - aśva - ratha - padāti). Alberuni[3] describes in great detail how the game of chess was played in Northern India which in all probability was followed in Kashmir. Gambling was prevalent in ancient Kashmir but it was considered reprehensible.[4] In spite of its prohibition by most of the Smṛti writers the Indians resorted to it. Whereas Lakṣmīdhara, the Gāhaḍvāla minister, allowed the play with dice particularly at the time of the festival of Lakṣmī on the first day of the bright half of the month of Kārttika,[5] the Kashmirian Purāṇa prescribes the game particularly

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[1] R.T., VI, 153; VII, 1003; VIII, 1740.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2969-2970.

[3] Sachau, vol. I, p. 183 sqq.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2357-2360.

[5] Niyatakālakāṇḍa p.422.

on the dark fortnight of Kārttika, i.e. Dīpamālā festival.[1] Even now many people throughout India specially gamble on the Dīpamālā festival. U. N. Ghosal, with reference to Mahārāja-parājaya, mentions five varieties of gambling with appropriate titles such as that played by kings dressed only in a loin-cloth in courtyards, that by sons of merchants and the one played with cowries by small boys.[2]

Music, song, dance and drama played an important part in the daily life of the people of ancient Kashmir, as everybody from the common man to the king was fond of them and while patronising these arts some of the kings became skilled in singing and music. As elsewhere in India, in Kashmir also most of the festive occasions were celebrated with vocal (gīta), instrumental (vādya) music and dancing (nṛtya) and among the musical instruments as known to ancient Kashmir reference may be made of lute, flute, drums, gongs and cymbals.[3] A tile from Harwan depicts three musicians. They are playing on flute, cymbals and a pair of drums respectively.[4] There are references to making music, perhaps by strolling players in particular, by beating earthen pots and brass

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[1] Infra, p. 376.

[2] The Struggle for Empire, pp. 489-490.

[3] R.T., VIII, 901-902, 1538, 2398-2399.

[4] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XXVIII,

vessels.[1] In Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, the precepts of Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra were followed and Kalhaṇa informs us that king Jayāpīḍa was fully acquainted with this śāstra.[2]

The dancers, singers, musicians and strolling players were there not only to amuse the common man but also the kings in the palace.[3] The venue of these performances were the palaces, temples, houses of prostitutes and other private houses. The presence in the palace of a dancing hall (nāṭyamaṇḍapa)[4] and an assembly hall[5] where the dancing, singing, drama and music performances could be watched tends to show their importance as kings' diversions. According to the Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra,[6] the king's palace should include a dancing hall, a theatre, a hall for music, a gymnasium and a picture gallery. The Kashmirian palaces do not appear to have contained all these chambers but Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to dancing and assembly hall at least being used for dancing, singing and music. We learn that king Cakravarman was so strongly fascinated by the singing and acting

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[1] R.T., VIII, 98, 891.

[2] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 75-123; R.T., IV, 423.

[3] R.T., III, 285-289; VII, 717, 933; VIII, 1977.

[4] R.T., VII, 707.

[5] R.T., VII, 944.

[6] Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, XV, 18f.

of sweet-eyed daughters of a Ḍomba singer Raṅga whom the king had given an audience in the assembly hall, that he took both Haṁsī and Nāgalatā into his seraglio and raised the former to the rank of chief queen. And the chronicler pathetically mentions the appointment of the Ḍomba singer Raṅga and his relatives to the position of consequence by the unwise king.[1] King Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089) was a patron of arts and we are told that he introduced into Kashmir the taste for choral songs (upāṅgagīta) and a careful selection of female dancers as customary in other lands.[2] But the development of arts reached its zenith in the time of King Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) who was passionately fond of music, singing and dancing, and besides patronising these he introduced new fashions in dress and manners. 'By the favours of this liberal king who showered gold about,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'all bands of singers came to vie with kings.'[3] He was so adept in composing songs that 'even to this day' records Kalhaṇa, 'if one of the songs which he composed for the voice is heard, tears roll on the eye-lashes even of his enemies'.[4] He was so fond of amusements that he used to sleep for two watches of the day and

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[1] R.T., V, 354 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 606.

[3] R.T., VII, 933.

[4] R.T., VII, 942.

keep awake at night when in the assembly-hall, illuminated by a thousand lamps he attended the meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances.[1] The grandeur of king Harṣa's court is described by Kalhaṇa in these words: 'What Bṛhaspati could fully describe the nightly court held by this king whose splendour surpassed that of Indra? The canopies were like clouds, the lights like a wall of fire; the golden sticks resembled the lightning and the multitudes of swords were like smoke; lovely ladies took the place of the Apsaras and ministers that of the stars; its scholars were like an assembly of Ṛṣis and its singers like Gandharvas; it was the fixed meeting place of Kubera and Yama and the one common pleasure-grove of liberality and terror.'[2] The fondness for singing was so great with this king that he rewarded one Bhīmanāyaka, when pleased by his display on a drum, with an elephant together with a female elephant.[3] Kanaka, Kalhaṇa's own uncle is described as having been handsomely rewarded by Harṣa for taking singing lessons from him.[4] Kings Sussala and Jayasiṁha were also fond of singing, dancing and music and the latter, before going to bed, listened to flutes,

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[1] R.T., VII, 943-944.

[2] R.T., VII, 946-949.

[3] R.T., VII, 1116.

[4] R.T., VII, 1117-1118.

lutes and other music.[1] Sultān Zain-ul-ābidīn (1420-1470) is described as having revived Sanskrit learning again in Kashmir. He was a great patron of art and architecture and fostered various arts (akhaṇḍakalākalāpa). He received various presents from different rulers. Śrīvara mentions that king Ḍūgaresena (Ḍūgarasimha) of Gopālapura (Gwalior) sent him the present of a text on the science of music named Saṅgīta-Chūḍāmaṇi which deals with gīta, tāla, kalāvādya, and nāṭya.[2]

In addition to palaces the venues of singing, dancing, music and dramatic performances were the temples and other public theatres where the ordinary man spent his leisure in delight and comfort. If Dāmodaragupta is to be believed, there were luxuriously furnished theatres in Kashmir provided with leather-cushioned couches.[3] Whereas these theatres of comfort and ease seem to have been visited by rich and aristocrats, the men of ordinary means witnessed the theatrical performances in open-air theatres. Giving a life-life description of such performances in the open air Kalhaṇa records that in the event of a downpour the people dispersed in all directions.[4]

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[1] R.T., VIII, 1294, 2398-2399.

[2] Śrīvara, VI, 14.

[3] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 68.

[4] R.T., VII, 1606.

In Kashmir both men and women acted in these performances. The ladies of Kashmir were very proficient in the art of dancing, singing and music. The subjects of studies during the period under review included Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, Viśākhila's treatise on art, Dantila's work on music, sexual texts of Vātsyāyana, Dattaka, Viṭaputra and Rājputra, vṛkṣāyurveda, painting, woodwork, metal work, clay modelling, cookery, needlework as well as practical training in instrumental music, dancing and singing.[1] Bilhaṇa is all proud of the ladies of his native land and writes that there 'having witnessed in dramatic performances the skill in histrionic art in which there is movement of the limbs of gay-eyed women in connexion with charming plays, Rambhā becomes motionless, Citralekha does not have the right position of the limbs in dancing, and certainly Urvaśī does not become proud in a dramatic performance for a long time'.[2] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) was so well-read and proficient in arts that he used to teach in person the dancing girls how to act in the illuminated hall of his palace.[3] Some tiles discovered at Harwan depict ladies in dancing posture and playing on musical instruments.[4]

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[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 122-124.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 29.

[3] R.T., VII, 1140-1141.

[4] R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XXVII.

In ancient Kashmir as in other parts of India, temples were a source of amusement where the devadāsis skilled in dancing, singing and music display their performances. The temples were provided with dancing halls where dancing, singing and dramatic performances could be witnessed. Describing the dancing hall of the Kṣemagaurīśvara temple constructed by king Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) Bilhaṇa writes that 'in the dramatic performances in that temple women in acting beautifully cause horripilation to the body even of those who are absorbed in meditation'.[1] The institution of devadāsi in Kashmir can be traced back to an early period. Kalhaṇa informs us that king Jalauka presented a hundred among the ladies of his seraglio, who were adept in singing and dancing to the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra.[2] We learn that king Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa once, during the course of his outing undertaken to train an untrained horse, met two girls who were singing and dancing and on questioning who they were the girls replied: 'We are dancing-girls belonging to a temple. Here in the village of Śūravardhamāna is our home. By the direction of our mothers, who got their living here, we perform at this spot the dancing, which our descent makes incumbent. This custom, handed down by tradition, has become fixed in our family. Its reason we cannot

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 23.

[2] R.T., I, 151.

know, nor can anyone else.'[1] This shows that in many cases the profession was received in heredity. The account of Abū Zeid al Ḥasan, an Arab traveller of the ninth century A.D., about the dancing girls runs thus: 'In the Indies they have public women called Women of the idol, the origin of whose institution is such: when a woman has laid herself under a vow, that she may have children, if it happens that she brings forth a handsome daughter, she carries the child to the Bod, so they call the idol they worship, and there leaves her. When the girl has attained a proper age, she takes an apartment in this public place, and spreads a curtain before her door, and awaits the arrival of strangers as well Indians as men of other sects, to whom this debauchery is made lawful. She prostitutes herself at a certain rate, and delivers her gains into the hands of the idol's priest, to be by him disposed of for the use and support of the temple.'[2] In the Rājataraṅgiṇī there are numerous references to these dancing girls (nartakī) being taken away by the kings, which cannot rule out the possibility that they were available for enjoyment to ministers and rich gentry as well. Kalhaṇa records that king Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II took a fancy to Narendraprabhā the wife of a merchant, but on account of his

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[1] R.T., IV, 269-271.

[2] E. Renaudot, Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan Travellers, p.88.

noblemindedness he could not openly take her away reflecting: 'If the king himself take away the wives of the subjects, who else should punish trespass of the law.' When the merchant learnt this he requested the king in many words to accept her as queen, failing which he finally said to the king: 'If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl put there by me on account of her skill in dancing.'[1] The king finally accepted her. Kayyā and Sahajjā were two dancing girls attached to a temple and after being witnessed on the stage were taken away respectively by king Kalaśa and Utkarṣa.[2] Sahajjā is said to have become satī after the death of her lover Utkarṣa, which earned her great praise from Kalhaṇa.[3]

If the kings, who practised polygamy, kept a huge seraglio full of concubines, most of whom skilled in dancing and singing, amused the kings with their performances as well as supplying sensuous pleasure, which can also be said of aristocrats, the houses of prostitutes were there to provide amusement to a section of society. The class of prostitutes which formed a distinct social unit in ancient Kashmir not only provided sexual pleasure to their visitors but many of them, being adept in singing, dancing, music and other arts, kept an arrangement for such display. As in

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[1] R.T., IV, 36.

[2] R.T., VII, 725, 856-858.

[3] R.T., VII, 859-860.

modern times, many of them must have been displaying their performances to the accompaniment of instrumental music played by a party of male members kept by them who in many cases happened to be their relatives. The description of the prostitutes as given by Kṣemendra is complete and he does not forget to mention the procuress (kuṭṭanī) as a vital companion to a prostitute who instructs her in the tricks and snares of the profession and helps her in entrapping young men. Though Kṣemendra looks with contempt at this class of women, nevertheless his reference to the sad condition of Kalāvatī that followed the death of the old bawd (mātṛkā), points to the indispensability of a procuress in the house of a courtesan.[1] The parasite (viṭa) who was a regular pilgrim to the prostitutes has been described by Kṣemendra in his Deśopadeśa.[2]

In the Kalāvilāsa and in the Samayamātṛkā Kṣemendra furnishes a list of sixty-four arts on erotics (kāmaśāstra)[3] with which the prostitutes must have been fully acquainted. The works such as the Deśopadeśa, Narmamālā, Kalāvilāsa and the Samayamātṛkā of Kṣemendra as also the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya of Dāmodaragupta, give a life picture of many of these prostitutes, their various tricks

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, I, 27 ff; IV, 1-8, 40-45. Deśopadeśa, IV Passim.

[2] Deśopadeśa, V Passim.

[3] Kalāvilāsa, IV, 3-11; Samayamātṛkā, V Passim.

and snares for entrapping innocent young men and doing away with unwanted parasites. In the Samayamātṛkā, Kṣemendra refers to various occupations which her heroine Kaṅkālī adopts in order to seduce temple priests (prasādpāla), merchants' sons, Ḍāmaras, horsemen, diviras, and the keepers of the royal prisons. To gain her objectives she becomes a Buddhist nun, a nurse in the house of a minister, the wife of a shepherd, the seller of flowers and garlands, the seller of wine at the time of Takṣakanāga festival, the wife of a load-carrier and finally she crosses the Kashmir frontier by applying some soporific flower to the keeper of the watch station (draṅga). Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa talk contemptuously about these courtesans who are only concerned with money rather than good qualities of their lovers and give them favours so long as they receive rich presents. In show of their feigned love some even pretend to die at the funeral pyres of their lovers.[1] Kalhaṇa records that during the time of king Lalitāpīḍa, the son of Jayapīḍa, who was a slave to his passions, the palace fell to prostitution and immorality.[2] Some charming and proficient courtesans were not only sometimes taken and admitted into the seraglios but some kings made them their queens as well.[3] Kṣemendra gives an interesting list of

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[1] Kalāvilāsa, IV, 19; X, 23. Deśopadeśa, III. R.T., IV, 481; V, 294.

[2] R.T., IV, 661 sqq.

[3] R.T., VII, 1460-1462.

persons who visited these prostitutes who were like Kalpa trees. They were: the only son of a rich man, a young man whose father had died, the minister, the kāyastha, cooks, flower sellers, son of a merchant, physician who treats the ailing minister for a long time, son of a guru, sexy ascetic, rich musician, irresponsible prince, merchant who visits the city for the first time, a learned scholar and a drunkard.[1]

Some passages in the Rājataraṅgiṇī relating to clown's tricks show that the clown was not only a source of enjoyment to the king in the palace but perhaps provided amusement to the audience with his tricks in the performances of comedies outside the palace. He also seems to have gathered round him passers by and was showered with money as a reward for his labour. The tricks referred to are music with noses and shoulders, banging of skulls with knocks and blows, pantomimic movements of the head and the like.[2] They also seem to have created laughter by binding both knees and thighs together, wearing an extravagant headdress, bound up beard, bound naked to a cart and with half their head shaved and the remaining hair covered with lumps of vermilion.[3]

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, V, 63-67.

[2] R.T., V, 418; VIII, 96.

[3] R.T., VIII, 95-97.

The beard bound up under the headdress, the forefinger at the point of the nose, the look fixed in abstraction and such other habits are recorded to have been mimicked on the stage.[1] The Triṣaṣtiśalākāpuruṣacarita[2] of Hemacandra also describes the town and village folk laughing on watching 'fat men, menwith projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, flat-nosed men, men with dishevelled hair, bald men, one-eyed men, and other deformed men; by ash-coloured men; by men with buttock bells, by musicians of the arm-pit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of other people'.

Kashmir produced in Bilhaṇa and Kṣemendra two great dramatists and it appears from their writings that the themes of dramatic performances were mainly drawn from epic and purāṇa stories, court life, love stories, as well as depicting characters like prostitutes, misers, rogues, bawds, merchants, astrologers, physicians, kāyasthas, gurus and many others.

Though the actors, singers and musicians, as a class, were looked down upon everywhere in India, they were honoured with presents by the kings and the people in Kashmir. A perusal of the Kashmirian literature has shown that a celebrant on most of the

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[1] R.T., V, 207-208.

[2] Triṣaṣtiśalākāpuruṣacarita, III, 239.

festivals is enjoined to witness the dance, acting and listen to gīta and vādya as also to honour the actors (raṅgajīvino-naṭādayaḥ) and prostitutes (puṃścalī) with rich presents.

Chapter VIII

POPULAR BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

The literature furnishes some data on the superstitions and popular beliefs of the Kashmirians, viz., their belief in good and evil omens, in dreams, in auspicious and inauspicious times, in astrology, in lucky and unlucky names and stars, in auspicious marks, in ominous signs, in spells and witchcraft. In the secluded valley of Kashmir, the popular tradition has since ancient times attached strong belief in sacred diagrams (yantra, cakra), engraved on stones on the mountain passes and along the temples, which formed a form of popular worship. The Kashmirians held great belief in the sanctity of the mountains, forests, rivers and springs and in the supernatural power of the Nāgas. No less strong was the belief in the Piśācas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas, Pretas and other such malevolent spirits. Their mind was fully conscious of the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls. Most of such beliefs have taken a deep root in the society and have, since ancient times, played an important role in the daily life of the people.

Numerous references to astrologers and astrology reveal the influential position enjoyed by the astrologer in court as well as in public life. Hardly anything important was done without the advice of an astrologer, as at present. In Kashmir, as

in other parts of India, any newexpedition or a scheme undertaken, the start of a new venture, the arrangement of marriages and other ceremonies, indeed every important undertaking had to have due consent of the astrologer. The Kashmirians appreciated the necessity of an astrologer advocated by ancient texts.[1] The Sāravalī avers that nothing save astrology will help men in the acquisition of wealth, serve as a boat in the ocean of disasters and will act as a councillor (mantrin) at the time of the start of a journey or an invasion.[2] Varāhamihira vaingloriously states: 'Even those who have resorted to a forest [i.e. who have become forest hermits], who are free from worldly attachments and are without property, ask questions of one who knows the movements of heavenly luminaries. As the night without a lamp or the sky without the Sun, so a king without an astrologer [with him] wanders about [or wavers] as a blind man on a road. If there be no astronomer and astrologer, auspicious times, tithis, nakṣatras, seasons and the ayanas [northward and southward passages of the Sun] - these would all become confused. What a single astrologer knowing the country and time can effect, that even a thousand elephants or four thousand horsemen cannot accomplish.'[3]

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[1] Gautamadharmasūtra, XI, 12-13, 15-16. Arthaśāstra, I, 9. Yajñavalkya, I, 313.

[2] Sāravalī, II, 5.

[3] Bṛhatsaṁhitā, II, 8-22.

Astrology seems to have had a firm hold on the minds of kings as well as of the common man. At times the astrologers interpreted bodily signs and marks the people believed in. Kalhaṇa informs us that a learned astrologer, looking at the marks of the beautiful daughter of king Bālāditya, predicted that her husband would obtain the throne of Kashmir and despite king Bālāditya's precautions against this, the prophecy came true.[1] During his struggle for the throne, Uccala, on capturing a mare of auspicious marks belonging to the enemy force, became sure of his victory.[2] It was the mark of greatness on the foot of Jayasiṁha that brought about reconciliation between his father Sussala and his uncle Uccala.[3] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) saw the truth about the rumour of his son's death in noticing an ominous sign on his body.[4] The astrologers also predicted whether one would lead a long or a short life.[5] Uccala, and Sussala were correctly told by an astrologer that they would seize the throne one day.[6]

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[1] R.T., III, 485 sqq.

[2] R.T., VII, 1309.

[3] R.T., VIII, 241-242.

[4] R.T., VII, 1671.

[5] R.T., IV, 4.

[6] R.T., VII, 1183-1184.

But Kalhaṇa reserves his contempt for the quacks in astrology and medical profession. He refers to a silly Brahman village-astrologer Loṣṭaka, who used to go begging for handfuls of rice, but later became well-known for guessing the things hidden in people's fists (muṣṭi) which earned him the surname of Muṣṭiloṣṭaka, and to a merchant who, deceitful in his ignorance and vaunting his learning as a physician and guru, had gradually made a position for himself as a guru of dyers and other craftsmen.[1] Kṣemendra in his Samayamātṛkā and Kalāvilāsa hits at many of these quacks. An ignorant astrologer is capable of telling the time when the star Vaiśākhā approaches the Moon but is unaware that behind his back his lady enjoys the company of different lovers.[2] A palmist reads the palm of a young woman belonging to a noble family and declares that she possesses a long line of prosperity whereas her husband is fickle-minded. In this way he enjoys himself by squeezing her hand, delicate as a lotus (kamalakomala).[3] Kṣemendra, who was a humorist and witty, humprously refers to a seller of medicines with his head bald as a copper vessel (tāmraghatopamśirṣa), who in order to attract customers assuredly says that his medicine is an infallible cure for baldness, but is not questioned for his

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[1] R.T., VII, 281-283, 295-297.

[2] [illegible] IX 6.

[3] Kalāvilāsa, IX, 16.

own bald head.[1]

The Kashmirians paid much regard to the auspicious time and place. Kalhaṇa records a legendary account of King Pravarasena's (II) adventurous search for an auspicious time (lagna) and place (kṣetra) for the foundation of a new town after his own name.[2] Varāhamihira[3] describes in detail various actions to be performed on different nakṣatras, i.e. Dhruva, tīkṣṇa, ugra, kṣipra (or laghu), mṛdu, mṛdu-tīkṣṇa (or sādhāraṇa) and cara. The act of founding a city, performing the king's coronation, planting of trees, carrying out śānti rites and charitable works etc. should, according to him, be performed on Dhruva nakṣatra. We should not expect minutest details about every-day life of his countrymen from Kalhaṇa, who undertook a big task of writing the history of his land from the earliest time to his own. In all likelihood, the people of Kashmir fully recognized then as now, the importance of auspiciousness of time or nakṣatras, particularly in matters of sacrifices, marriages, other domestic rites, ceremonies such as Jātakarman,[4] Nāmakarman,[5] Upanayana,[6] etc., the start of a journey,

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[1] Kalāvilāsa, IX, 9.

[2] R.T., I, 75.

[3] Bṛhatsaṁhitā, 98. 6-11.

[4] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 81.

invasion or some undertaking and other day-to-day activities as laid down in the ancient texts. Vedic passages[1] make frequent references to auspiciousness of days. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,[2] people are said to plough on Anurādha nakṣatra - Mitra being its presiding deity. We find a prescription in the same Brāhmaṇa that if a father wishes that his daughter should be loved by her husband and that she should not come back to his house, he should give her hand when the Moon is in Niṣṭyā (Svātī) nakṣatra.[3] Different provisions are set forth about marriage, caula (tonsure) and other ceremonies. In the Āśvalāyana grhyasūtra we find a generalisation of auspicious times for some noted saṁskāras in the following: 'the rites for Caula, Upanayana, godāna and marriage are to be performed in the northward passage of the Sun, in the fortnight of the waxing moon and on an auspicious nakṣatra; some /sages/ hold that marriage may be performed at all times.'[4]

There was a practice which is still followed in Kashmir that 'if the auspicious time for the commencement of a journey astrologically falls earlier than the time by which the person concerned finds it convenient to start, he may pro forma leave his

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[1] Rgveda, III, 8.5; III, 23.4; VII, 88.4; X, 70.1; IV, 37.1; IV, 4.7; V, 60.5; VII, 11.2; VII, 18.21.

[2] Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 8.4.2.

[3] Ibid., I.5.2.

[4] Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra, I.4.1-2.

own residence and proceed to the house of a friend or other conveniently situated building in the same place. He can then begin his real journey whenever convenient.'[1] In pursuance of this practice, Dhammaṭa, who had been appointed an envoy to Rājapurī by king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), stopped at the house of Sahasramaṅgala for the sake of an auspicious day.[2] The digest writers lay down several rules on the question of yātrā, i.e. going on pilgrimages, setting out for an invasion by the king or undertaking a journey for important purposes. Under the circumstances when one, owing to certain reasons, cannot leave on the auspicious day, an arrangement of prasthāna, i.e. to start but coming back after travelling some distance or despatching forward some article[3] on the auspicious day and leaving some days later, is recommended. The Kashmirian custom of staying in someone's house is also suggested. It is interesting to read the opinions of sages. Gārgya expresses that one should go on from his house to some near one's house, Bhṛgu goes a step further in recommending that one leave one's village and stay in another. Vasiṣṭha holds that one must go out of the city

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.347.

[2] R.T., VIII, 1017-1018.

[3] Though men of different varṇas could despatch forward anything of their choice, a sacred thread, a weapon, honey and a fruit are recommended for a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra respectively.

and Bharadvāja avers that one should go as distant as an arrow is discharged.[1]

A passage of the third taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī[2] clearly demonstrates that in Kashmir, as in other parts of India, prognostications were derived from the sight and presumably from the flight and cry of birds. The passage tells us how Mātragupta during the course of his yātrā towards Kashmir, predicts success looking at a wagtail sitting on the top of the hood of a snake. He is recorded to have been sent by king Vikramāditya of Ujjayiṇi, with a decree containing his appointment as the lord of Kashmir, to be handed over to the state officers of Kashmir. His prediction came true. The idea of prognosticating future events, auspicious or inauspicious, from the cry of the birds goes as far back as the Vedic period.[3] The Sakuna (prognostications from the sight, flight or cries of birds and other animals) are dealt with at length in the Yogayātra of Varāhamihira and Adbhutasāgara.[4] His Jogayātrā, writing about the direction of certain birds and animals, says that good results are indicated if they happen to be on the right or southern side of one starting on a journey. Indication of good is received also

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[1] Rājamārtaṇḍa, folio 49b verse 769 and Muhūrtacintāmaṇi, XI, 90 quoted in History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. V, part I, p.621.

[2] R.T., III, 221.

[3] Rgveda, II, 42, 1 and 3.

[4] Yogayātrā, Chapter 14. Adbhutasāgara, pp. 569-582.

from the flight of the cāsa bird with something in its mouth, on the right side of an individual.[1]

After a study of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, it so appears that astrology in all its branches had Kashmirians under its grip. They seem to have had a knowledge of the planets, nakṣatras, rāśis and their relations to each other. Horoscopic astrology with the system of 'houses' (bhāvas) was known to them. They believed in the efficacy of horoscopes cast at the time of birth, by the astrologers or family priests conversant with astrology. Great importance was attached to the nakṣatras and zodiacal signs at a person's birth. Kalhaṇa describes the horoscope of king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), who was born under the sign of Cancer, when Mars and Saturn stood in the fifth house, Jupiter and Mercury in the sixth, Venus and the Sun in the seventh and the Moon in the tenth, that like Duryodhana by the conjunction of planets at his nativity which intended the extinction of his dynasty, he caused the extinction of his family, as the learned author of the Saṁhitā has declared the Kauravas and others who were born when the Moon, Venus and the malignant planets stood in the tenth, seventh and fifth astrological houses, to be the destroyers of their own families.[2]

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[1] Yogayātrā, 14, 2 and 26.

[2] R.T., VII, 1718-1720.

We find the digest-makers not only referring to the planets, auspicious and inauspicious, but offering devices against the latter. To quote Yājñavalkya: 'One should sedulously worship that planet that is badly affected /in a person's horoscope/. Brahmā conferred a boon on them /planets/. When worshipped you should honour the worshipper /with favours/. The rise and fall of kings is dependent on the planets, as also the emergence and the disappearance of the world; therefore planets are to be worshipped most.'[1] Undoubtedly, this part of the lesson was known to the Kashmirians.

In the Narmamālā, Kṣemendra gives a description of an astrologer, who is consulted by the Niyogī to cure his sick wife. Though it is a satirical account of a quack in astrology, nevertheless the narrative is very instructive and life-like. He is described as carrying a hand-bag full of sundry diagrams to pass for a soothsayer. He does not trouble himself to learn the rudiments of astrology. He consults the boatmen for the forecast of weather.[2] He often commits himself to such generalities: During the course of three years, you will incur a huge expenditure and suffer from fever and eye-trouble (netrapīda). You may earn also some unforeseen profit. You have numerous enemies but you should

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[1] Yājñavalkya, I, 307-308.

[2] Narmamālā, II, 82-83.

not be afraid of them and protect yourself from them. Brother! you look very weak. Why don't you go in for a tonic? Surely, you are suffering from jaundice and I shall free you from this by means of an incantation (mantra).[1] Although he gets acquainted with the story of Niyogi's wife from hearsay, he sketches a zodiacal diagram (rāśicakra) on the dust spread on a piece of cloth (dhūlipata).[2] On being presented with a heap of money (dīnāra) by the Niyogi, he observes silence for some time, counting his fingers (savāṅgulīganana).[3] Then slowly he starts revealing the results of his enquiry, raising up his eyebrows quite often: This woman suffers from love-fever (ratikāma). The demon of love is too powerful in the female sex. She too, as indicated by the conjunction of Venus (śukra) in the diagram, is possessed of a ghost (piśāca) who has made entry in her naked body in the bathroom.[4]

The Kashmirians believed in the doctrine of Karma and the transmigratinn of souls. A good action bears its fruit and the bad action leads to retribution. And if the results of good or bad actions are not borne in this life, the soul which transmigrates

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[1] Narmamālā, II, 84-87.

[2] Narmamālā, II, 88.

[3] Narmamālā, II, 89.

[4] Narmamālā, II, 90-91.

in next births receives the remaining quota. Kalhaṇa plainly demonstrates in many passages that no one can escape from the consequences of good or bad action. He shares the belief expressed in the Sūtra, Upaniṣad and Purāṇa[1] that the deeds do not perish and inevitably bear fruit. Kalhaṇa and his countrymen were fully conscious of the power of fate (daiva, vidhi) which is really the good or bad action of previous births that bear fruit in this life. Kalhaṇa acknowledges its working in all spheres. To take a few instances, the overthrow of the powerful House of Sahis is attributed to fate (vidhi) which 'effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach'.[2] It was due to the will of fate that Utkarṣa committed the fatal mistake of exchanging the ring which was to be the signal for prince Harṣa's murder.[3] A certain bazaar-cook who was an expert intriguer, passing himself off as belonging to royal blood, had received great honours from the neighbouring chiefs, on being recognised his nose was cut off and he was put into his old profession of selling articles of food which made Kalhaṇa say: 'In vain do people use cunning and deceptions to raise their positions; the will of fate cannot be altered. Man's effort resembles a fire in the grass, which by the wind of fate is made

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[1] Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 14.17; Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, I, 19.27. Gautamadharmasutra, 19.5. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, IV, 4 and VI, 2. Chāndogyopaniṣad, III, 14 and V, 3-10.

[2] R.T., VII, 67.

[3] R.T., VII, 803.

to flame up in one place even when subdued, and to go out in another even if kindled. Man cannot get away by running from his fixed destiny, as /little as/ the bird /by flying/ from the fire bound to its tail. The life of a person, whose breath is destined /to last/ until he has enjoyed what he is to enjoy, cannot be destroyed by adversaries, neither by the employment of continuous fire, poison, the sword and arrows, nor by a violent throw over a precipice, nor by sorcery.'[1] The defeat of king Sussala at the hands of rebels made Kalhaṇa remark: "'He /Sussala/, the foremost of the all-powerful, who, assisted only by his arm in his attack, had ousted even King Harṣa; who by his prowess had several times conquered this land, and whose bold enterprises can as little be counted as those of Jamadagni's son /Parśurāma), the might of fate diminished his valour, and broken in his strength he was suddenly separated there from the goddess of victory.'[2] In connection with certain other events Kalhaṇa writes thus:

'Everybody while engaged on various tasks, strives eagerly, dependent as he is /on fate/, to frustrate its obstinate resolve. It is under these conditions that the most wonderful power of fate manifests itself, whose greatness knows no obstacles to the accomplish-

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[1] R.T., VIII, 220-223.

[2] R.T., VIII, 669-671.

ment of its designs.'[1]

'Fate, in fact, as if it wished to triumph, bestows fortune just on that person whom those, who think themselves wise, persist in consdering as unfit.'[2]

'The lightning of fortune, the crane of glory, the thunder of courage and the rainbow of fame, they all follow the cloud of fate.'[3]

'Fate whose most wonderful power cannot even be imagined, in a moment makes a man to fall who stands firmly, and raises another who is about to fall, just as the current of the waters /washes away/ one river bank /and raises another/'[4]

Kalhaṇa shares the traditional Indian belief expressed in the Dharmaśāstras and other texts that fate is really human actions (good or bad) of previous births that bear fruit in this life. For example, to quote Yājñavalkya: 'Success in undertakings is dependent upon daiva /luck/ and human effort /also/.'[5] The Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira also inculcates the doctrine of karma and holds horoscopes to be maps which contain futures of individuals arising from their acts of previous life or lives. Kalhaṇa dilates upon this belief at other places in his chronicle, to which

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[1] R.T., II, 93.

[2] R.T., III, 491.

[3] R.T., VII, 1455.

[4] R.T., VIII, 1401.

[5] Yājñavalkya, I, 349, 351.

he ascribes not only the success or failure of an individual but the fortune or misfortune of the kingdom and the country of Kashmir. 'The wonderful diversity of /the results of/ former actions produces astonishing phenomena, such as are unknown to dreams, magic, or imagination'[1] writes so Kalhaṇa at one place. The foolishness of the minister Kamalavardhana in not ascending the throne of Kashmir after the deposition of king Sūravarman II (A.D. 939) is ascribed to his confused state of mind caused 'by acts done in a previous existence'.[2] It was due to the merits of former births that the cruel king Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950) died in the precincts of the Sureśvarī Tīrtha.[3] In the reign of king Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972) the plundering of the land by oppressive officials is attributed to the 'sins which this land had accumulated'.[4] The appointment by Tuṅga of the low-born mean Kāyastha Bhadreśvara to the post of his assistant is said to have taken place 'when the merits of his previous existence were exhausted'.[5] King Kalaśa's (A.D. 1063-1089) sudden change from a voluptuary and oppressor to a guardian for the welfare of

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[1] R.T., VIII, 235.

[2] R.T., V, 456.

[3] R.T., VI, 288.

[4] R.T., VI, 288.

[5] R.T., VII, 37.

his subjects is ascribed to 'a rise in the subjects' fortune caused by their previous merits'.[1] While recording the murder of king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) at the hands of his official conspirators, Kalhaṇa writes that 'it is curious and due to the people's sins that this secret design was not betrayed, though it was planned for a long time and by many persons who were much divided [amongst themselves].'[2] All this shows the Kashmirian mind cherished the belief that one reaps good or bad in present life in accordance with good or bad actions done in former births. Even the medieval writer Raghunandana is in full agreement with Dīpikā that the planets convey the sinful acts that were committed in former lives and quotes the Matsyapurāṇa that: 'evil actions done in former lives bear fruit in the present life in the form of diseases, distress and the death of those dear to one'.[3] Looking at the instances of human effort which receive tremendous appreciation from Kalhaṇa, it is difficult to draw a sharp line of demarcation and say which of the two, i.e. daiva or human effort was considered superior. What we can say is that the Kashmirians fully recognized the power of daiva and human effort and believed

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[1] R.T., VII, 506.

[2] R.T., VIII, 281.

[3] Udavahātattva, p.125.

in their simultaneous working.

The relativeimportance of human effort (puruṣakāra) and fate or destiny (daiva) has been discussed at length in the Dharma-śāstra literature.[1] The Mahābhārata contains a long disquisition providing three views, i.e. fate (daiva) is all powerful,[2] human effort is superior to Daiva[3] and thirdly a combination of the two is needed in all actions.[4] Though the writers like Manu, Kautilya and Yājñavalkya and the Puraṇas like the Matsya and other above referred texts agree to the necessity of both, put more emphasis on human effort. Medhātithi on Manu writes that 'those devoid of effort are engaged in calculating the aspects of planets; there is nothing impossible of accomplishment for those who are determined and who are able to put forth spirited efforts'.[5]

The Rājataraṅgiṇi[6] abounds in references to an oath by sacred libation (kośapāna), in which the Kashmirians held strong belief. A close examination of the passages referring to Kośa show that the oath by sacred libation was resorted to for assuring the

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[1] Arthaśāstra, I, 19; Ix, 4. Manu, VII, 205. Yājñavalkya, I, 350. Viṣnudharmottara, II, 66. Matsyapurāṇa, 221, 1-12; Vāyupurāṇa, 9, 60-61. Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa, 2, 61-62, 23, 25-26. Kāmandakiyanitisāra, V, 11; XIII, 3-11.

[2] Ādiparva, I, 246-247; 89, 7-10. Sabhāparvan, 46, 16; 47, 36; 58, 14. Vanaparvan, 179, 27-38. Udyogaparvan, 8, 52; 40, 32; 159, 4; 186, 18.

[3] Droṇaparvan, 152, 27. Śāntiparvan, 27, 32; 58, 13-16; 153, 50. Anuśāsanaparvan, 6, 1ff.

[4] Ādiparvan, 123, 21; Sabhāparvan, 16, 12. Udyogaparvan, 79, 5-6. Śāntiparvan, 56, 14-15.

[5] Medhatithi on Manu, IV, 137.

[6] R.T., IV, 558; V, 422-423; VI, 211, 225; VII, 459, 492, 747;

friendship and faithfulness of the members involved. It was taken simply to assure another person of one's allegiance and loyalty, in other cases on occasions of a reconciliation between former enemies who promised their good faith for the future, and in many cases Kalhaṇa informs us of its employment for forming secret conspiracies mostly for evil designs. The Kashmirians believed in the sanctity of the oath which was taken before a deity. Perhaps the water which was drunk by the persons to whom the oath was administered had been in contact with a sacred image, which may have prevented the individuals from any breach of the solemn promise.

But two passages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī illustrate a ceremony peculiar to Kashmir. We are told that king Cakravarman, who first reigned from A.D. 923 to 933, and then regained power in A.D. 935 and lost it again, went to the house of a Ḍāmara Saṁgrama to seek his help in his endeavour to regain the throne. The Ḍāmara agreed to back the cause of the king but on the plea that after being restored he would treat the Ḍāmara class with kindness. The agreement being reached, both the 'king and Ḍāmara placed their foot on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation (kośa) sword in hand'.[1] Another passage informs

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VIII, 280, 1656, 2091, 2222, 3006, 3095.

[1] R.T., V, 326.

us that the Khaśas, in order to remove the suspicion of distrust in the minds of Bhoja (cousin brother of king Jayasimha) who was in flight, 'took an oath by sacred libation placing their feet on a blood-sprinkled skin'.[1] The passages are instructive and show that in the first instance one of the party was a Dāmara and in the second case the khaśas, which perhaps shows that the ceremony of placing the foot on a blood-sprinkled sheep-skin was carried out by the tribal people only and was not associated with the ordinary Kashmiri.

This ceremony was, however, peculiar to Kashmir and does not appear to have been known elsewhere in India. The 'great oath' of the Tibetans includes the eating of a portion of an ox's heart.[2] In N.W. India a cock is killed and, as the blood is poured on the ground, the oath is taken 'over it'.[3] The Naga of Assam stands within a circle of rope, praying that he may rot as a rope rots, or he holds a gun-barrel, a spear, or a tiger's tooth, saying, 'If I do not faithfully perform any promise, may I fall by this!'[4] In Malaya, water is drunk in which daggers, spears, or bullets have been dipped; May I be eaten

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[1] R.T., VIII, 3006.

[2] L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet, p.569 note.

[3] Crooke, Tribes and Castes, IV, 281.

[4] J.A.S.B., 1875, p.316.

up by this dagger or spear' is the formula.[1]

Kalhaṇa has left us a record of some of the omens that were in vogue in Kashmir. We have discussed the question of formation of omens, good or bad by the Kashmirian from the sight, flight and cry of certain birds and possibly animals. We have seen a good omen formed by Mātragupta after seeing a wagtail seated on a snake's hood. We are informed that Utkarṣa succeeded king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) to the throne of Kashmir. He had been chosen in preference to Harṣa, the eldest son, in the face of the opposition of the ministers who wanted Utkarṣa to succeed. Prince Harṣa was thrown into prison in the life-time of Kalaśa. After the death of Kalaśa, Utkarṣa, who had come from Lohara, entered the city. Whilst Harṣa, in his grief over the death of his father Kalaśa, was offering water as an oblation to the Pitṛs, he got a message from Utkarṣa to bathe. 'While he took his bath, the king (Utkarṣa) was preparing for the coronation ceremony, and there arose the sound of the music accompanying the Abhiṣeka, together with shouts: "Be Victorious". He (Harṣa) being versed in interpreting omens, came to know by this good omen that he would obtain the regal dignity, just as by the flash of lightning one knows the coming of thunder.[1] Omens also guided the military expeditions

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[1] R.T., VII, 742-743.

of the adventurers. Kalhaṇa informs us that when Uccala set out to attack Harṣa, he met somebody carrying a slain hare. 'By this good omen he thought he had already won his enemy's royal fortune.'[1] Encouraged by this omen, he continued his march from Rājapurī towards Śrīnagar and Kalhaṇa remarks that 'though he had only on the full-moon day of Caitra been exposed to dangers, yet he started without fear on his expedition on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha'.[2] Further, as he was marching to Varāh amūla, 'upon his head fell a garland from the head of the image of Mahāvarāha, just as if the earth, which rested on the shoulders of that god, had bestowed it upon /him as the man of/ her choice! Ultimately Uccala's ambitions were crowned with success. During his flight from Śrīnagar, Harṣa took his last refuge in the hut of a mendicant. 'As he entered his right foot struck against a stone and bled; by this evil omen he knew that his death was nigh.'[3] Harṣa gave his life in this very hut when attacked by the followers of Uccala.

The astrologers were not only approached by the people for the interpretation of the nakṣatras during births, omens and auspicious or inauspicious marks but also their dreams.[4] Dreams

[1] R.T., VII, 1291.

[2] R.T., VII, 1297.

[3] R.T., VII, 1310.

[4] R.T., VII, 1643.

are regarded as a forecast of what is in store for an individual but the most common belief is that of contraries. If one dreams of a festive occasion like a wedding, it is supposed to mean some evil but on the other hand the dream of death portends some good. This belief was very common in ancient India and Ceylon . King Jayāpīḍa, seeing the Sun rise in the West in his dream, thought that some learned teacher of law had entered the land of Kashmir.[1] The dreams dreamt in the early hours of the morning are considered more reliable and trustworthy. About Indian practices, L. D. Barnett remarks: 'No less important in Indian life is secular magic - astrology, divination, necromany, and every variety of the black art..... Astrology is still a prosperous and crowded profession, to which the whole population looks for guidance in its daily affairs; and there is even now a good market for the kindred, if less reputable, trade of the magician. Dreams naturally offered a fertile field for the ingenuity of diviners.'[2]

In this connection it may be proper to add a few words on Tantrism, which includes some forms of popular worship. Popular tradition has since ancient times attached great sanctity and supernatural powers fo the 'Circles sacred to the Mothers'

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[1] R.T., IV, 498.

[2] Antiquities of India, pp. 183-184.

(Mātṛcakra) which were not only constructed along with the temples but also at the passes (dvāra) on the Kashmir frontiers. 'The worship of the Mothers, which is identical with that of the Śaktis, plays a great part in the Tantra ritual flourishing in Kaśmīr from ancient times. The mystical diagrams may be supposed to have been carved in stone like the Śrīcakras and Rājñīcakras, which are prepared and worshipped to this day in Kaśmīr according to the rules of the Tantraśāstra, both in private houses and temples. Of supposed natural (śvabhāvika) cakras of this kind the Śrīcakra on the Śārikaparvata in Śrīnagar and the Jvālāmukhīcakra on the rocky hill above Uyen (Skr. Ovana) in the Vihī Pargaṇa receive special reverence.'[1] About a dozen life-like sculptures, representing Indrāṇī, Cāmuṇḍī, Varāhi, and other goddesses, known as the Aṣṭa-mātṛka, have been discovered from Pandrethān.[2] Goddess Śārada is one of the celebrated deities of the Kashmirians who is nothing but 'Śakti embodying three separate manifestations'.[3]

Writing on the Śāktas or Śakti worshippers in India, R.G. Bhandarkar traces the origin of Durgā in her seven Śaktis; Brāhmī,

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. I, p.23 note.

[2] R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p.116.

[3] Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.280.

Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṃhī and Aindrī, 'which are the powers or spirits of the gods from whom their names are derived, are called, her excellent forms (Vibhūtis).'[1] There took place development in her forms which brought her in the minds of the worshippers in three forms. First we have the ordinary bland form, in which the goddess was worshipped. Then we have the fierce form, in which she is associated with the schools of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed. And the third is the sensual form, in which she is the object of worship with the school of the Śāktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Śakti.[2] In Kashmir she was believed to be worshipped in these forms.

The school of the Śāktas follows strange doctrines and practices. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become a woman.[3] The Mahānirvāṇatantra conveys a fair idea of the general principles of Tantric beliefs. It is conceived that all life proceeds from the womb of a woman; so we should think of the ultimate creative principle in terms of the 'mother' and not of the 'father'. Philosophical concepts like Prakṛiti and Māyā, and mythological figures like Pārvatī, Durgā,

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[1] Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p.143.

[2] R.G.Bhandarkar, Vaishnavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p.144.

[3] Ibid., p.146.

Lakshmī and Rādhā constitute the female principle of creation, and are merely different names of the Jaganmātā (Mother of the World). All gods, including Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Śiva, are contained in and issue out of the Divine Mother. This sect, therefore, looks upon every woman as an incarnation of the Universal Mother to whom proper respect should be paid.[1]

Tripurasundarī is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow (Dīkṣā) of a devoted worship of her. This vow is of three kinds. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahā-padmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapūjā, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bāhyayāga, or material worship, and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine. The second is the proper Sakti ceremonial. It consists in the worship of a picture of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the Śrīcakra.[2] Śrīcakra is the most noted of all the cakras and it contains in all

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[1] The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p.317.

[2] R.G.Bhandarkar, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, p .146.

43 angles.[1]

The first reference to the cakrapūjā comes in the reign of Jalauka. His queen Īśānadevī placed 'circles sacred to the Mothers' (mātṛcakra) which were distinguished by their spiritual power, at the 'Gates' of Kashmir and other places.[2] This reference to the Matṛcakras at the frontier passes demands us to believe that in the popular mind there was a strong belief in their power and Kalhaṇa seems to have had this in mind amongst other supernatural agencies when he writes that his country 'may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers. Hence its inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond.'[3]

We are informed by Kalhaṇa that a certain sorceress, Bhaṭṭā by name, once approached king Baka of the Mihirakula lineage and made him agree to visit her sacrificial feast. When the king with his hundred sons and grandsons visited her, 'she made of him a sacrificial offering to the "Circle of the goddess"'.

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[1] Vide Sir John Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, pp. 399 ff. P.H.Pott, Yoga and Yantra, pp. 40-42. Rao, T.A.Gopinatha, Elements of Hindu Econography, 1914, vol. I, pp. 330 ff. P.V.Kane, History of Dharmaśastra, vol. V, part II, pp. 1136-1138.

[2] R.T., I, 122.

[3] R.T., I, 39.

Even in the time of Kalhaṇa one could see 'on a rock the double impression of her knees showing [where] on attaining by that act supernatural power, she had risen to the sky'. 'Even to this day,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'the recollection of this story is kept alive in the Maṭhas of Kherī by [the image of] the god Śatakapāleśa, the "circle of the Mothers", and by that rock.'[1] Human and animal sacrifice to Durgā is referred to in another story.[2] Mātṛcakras[3] were also worshipped along the temple of Bhairava, in Nandikṣetra. This presents us a picture of the tantric practices in early centuries in Kashmir and the worship of the goddess in her fierce form, 'in which she is associated with the schools of Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed'. After quoting Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī and Harṣacarita for similar practices, P.V.Kane remarks: 'These descriptions from the works of Bāṇa (first half of the seventh century) show how even long before the 7th century A.D. the worship of Caṇḍī with flesh and the Śākta or Tāntrik paraphernalia of mantras, siddhis, maṇḍalas and yantras had gripped the minds of all Indian people, great and small, rich and poor.'[4] According

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[1] R.T., I, 331-335.

[2] R.T., III, 82-93.

[3] R.T., V, 55.

[4] History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. V, part II, p.1047.

to the two corresponding legends recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,[1] special diagrams (yantra) were traced on the ground for consecrating images of gods.

In Kashmir, the prevalence of the Kaula school of Tantras is attested to by Kṣemendra. Abhinavagupta, the Kashmirian philosopher, is said to have received perfect satisfaction and peace from the Kula system, and it is because of this that we find in his works a more glowing tribute paid to Śambhunātha, his Kaulic teacher, than to any one else.[2] The Tantra works shower great praise on the doctrine of Kaula. For example, the Kulārṇava Tantra states/'one who has studied the four Vedas but is ignorant of Kuladharma is inferior to a caṇḍāla, while a caṇḍāla who knows kuladharmas is superior to a brāhmaṇa. If all dharmas such as sacrifices, pilgrimages and vratas are put on one side and Kuladharma on the other, Kaula (dharma) is superior'.[3] God Śaṅkara declared five tattvas, viz., wine, flesh, fish, mudrā (hand and finger poses or the woman helper of a yogin) and sexual intercourse, that are acts that become the means for the attainment of the position of a vīra and that the mantra of Śakti does not confer perfection unless one follows the practices of Kula; therefore a person should be devoted to the Kula

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[1] R.T., III, 350, 454.

[2] Kanti Chandra Pandey, Abhinavagupta, An Historical and Philosophical Study, p.14.

[3] Kulārṇavatantra, II, 11 and 67. Vide Mahānirvāṇatantra, IV, 42 for almost the same words.

practices whereby he would attain to the sādhanā of Śakti; wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse - these are declared to be the five tattvas in the procedure of the worship of Śakti.[1]

In Kashmir as elsewhere in India, the belief in the teaching of Tantric practices had led to great moral debasement and revolting orgies in the name of religion which has been bewailed by Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa. Kṣemendra informs us how the Gurus declare that liberation follows by the drinking of wine from the same goblet by various craftsmen such as washermen, weavers, workers in hides, kāpālikas, in the procedure of cakrapūjā, and by dalliance with women without the least scruple and by always leading a life of festivities.[2] He writes about a clerk (niyogī) who was first a Buddhist but later changed his allegiance to Vaiṣṇava faith. This Kāyastha resorted to Kaulacāra and instituted a yāga for the sake of restoration of health of his wife. The Guru officiating the ceremony is said to have been a spiritual teacher not only of the Kāyastha and his widowed sister, but also of a prostitute, an old trader and of a surgeon.[3] Kalhaṇa looks with hatred at these tantric

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[1] Mahānirvāṇatantra, I, 57.

[2] Daśāvatāracarita, p.162.

[3] Narmamālā, 100-116; Samayamātṛkā, VI, 25.

gurus and their ceremonies which in the eleventh century had embraced obscenity and debauchery. He writes that in the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) many siddhas like Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa descended to the earth for the benefit of the world.[1] Showering praise at the results of the good rule of king Yaśa-kara (A.D. 939-945), Kalhaṇa remarks that during his time the Brahman Gurus did not drink spirits while singing their chants, the ignorant Gurus did not perform Matsyāpūpa sacrifices and did not by texts of their own composition revise traditional doc-trines and there were not seen housewives figuring as divinities at the Guruconsecration (Gurudīkṣa), and by shakes of their heads detracting from the distinguished character of their husbands.[2] King Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089) was greatly influenced by tantric gurus. We are informed that Pramadakaṇṭha, the teacher (gurù) who instructed king Kalaśa, was evil disposed and made the king 'ignore the distinction between those whomen are are approachable and those who are not'. It is said of this guru that he 'lived in incest even with his own daughter'.[3] Another guru of king Kalaśa was a merchant who from the peculiarity of keeping a

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[1] R.T., V, 66.

[2] R.T., VI, 10-12.

[3] R.T., VII, 276-278.

black cat had received the nickname of "the cat-merchant". Deceitful in his ignorance and vaunting his learning as a physician and Guru, he had gradually established a position for himself as a Guru of dyers and other craftsmen. This merchant gave relief to honourable and learned men by putting his hand, which smelt strongly of cat's droppings and Assafoetida (hiṅgu) on their heads.[1] Under the influence of these and many other Gurus and procurers Kalaśa took to debauchery and used to lust after the wives of others. Without shame he used to enjoy even his aunt Kallanā and her daughter Nāgā.[2] At the celebration of great rites (mahāsamaya) Kalaśa used to take great cups in the company of his gurus.[3] King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) follows immoral practices, in all likelihood under the influence of tantric gurus. 'His father's wives,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'who had brought him up on their arms, he took in his arms, kissed them, and continually disported himself with them.'[4] He had carnal intercourse evenwith his sisters.[5] This

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[1] R.T., VII, 279-283.

[2] R.T., VII, 293.

[3] R.T., VII, 523.

[4] R.T., VII, 1147.

[5] R.T., VII, 1148.

shows that the Kashmiri gurus were practising what the Guhyasamājatantra[1] recommends to Buddhist Yogis, viz., intercourse with women including incest with their mother, sister and daughter etc.

Numerous references to magic and spells tend to show that the Kashmirians were well aware of the knowledge of witchcraft (abhicāra, khārkhodavidya) , which was widely practised in the Valley. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo writes about the people of Kashmir. 'They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment; in so much that they make their idols speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them.'[2] In the last century G. Bühler found the germs of this practice. He writes: 'From a story told to me it would seem that some of the rites which the Kaśmīrian sorcerers used to practise closely resemble those formerly known in Europe. A Pandit stated that he had once found amongst some old lumber a small wooden statue, through the neck of which a pin had been driven. On showing it to the elders

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[1] Guhyasamājatantra, p.120.

[2] Yule, Marco Polo, vol. I, p.175.

of his family and inquiring about its purpose, he had been informed that it had been made by a sorcerer, and was the representation of some enemy, who had been killed with its aid. The pin driven into the neck under the recitation of the proper mantras had caused headaches, and a speedy death by apoplexy. I suppose nobody will read this story without being reminded of the Leech of Folkestone in the Ingoldsby Legends, where the sorcerer and the wicked wife try to destroy Thomas Marsh by exactly the same means. It may be that witchcraft is now not much practised in Kaśmīr, but the belief in its efficacy, in yoginīs who celebrate their foul rites on the desert mountain sides, and in Bhūts, is perhaps stronger and more universal in Kaśmīr than in India proper. The Kaśmīrian Pandits gave me the impression that they were a gens religiosissima.'[1]

Kalhaṇa records many cases of death caused by the use of witchcraft. We are told that in the court of king Candrāpīḍa a Brahman woman demanded justice against a Brahman sorcerer who took the life of her husband by witchcraft. The Brahman sorcerer being found guilty was duly punished.[2] Later king Candrāpīḍa is said to have breathed hislast as a result of witchcraft

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[1] Report, pp. 24-25.

[2] R.T., IV, 82 sqq.

(abhicāra) which this angry Brahman sorcerer used against the king at the instigation of Tārāpīḍa, the younger brother of Candrāpīḍa.[1] Kalhaṇa woefully remarks: 'From that time onwards, princes lusting for the throne in this kingdom began to use witchcraft and other evil practices against their elder relatives.'[2] But Kalhaṇa reserves his praise for king Candrāpīḍa and writes: 'Who does not feel a thrill when he remembers that extreme (or last) act of forbearance on the part of the illustrious king Candrāpīḍa? - namely, that, when on the point of death, he did not destroy that Brahman sorcerer (kṛtyādhāyin), though he had got him [in his power] saying - What sin is there in this poor fellow whom another has instigated!.'[3] Tārāpīḍa himself was destroyed by witchcraft used by the Brahmans whom he ill-treated.[4] Of the Karkoṭa kings, another case of death by sorcery was that of king Cippaṭajayāpīḍa who was destroyed by his treacherous uncles.[5] King Gopālavarman (A.D.902-904) of the Utpala dynasty died as a result of witchcraft which the treasurer

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[1] R.T., IV, 112.

[2] R.T. IV, 114.

[3] R.T., IV, 115-116.

[4] R.T. IV, 124.

[5] R.T., IV, 686.

Prabhākaradeva used against him through his relative who was versed in this knowledge. 'Through this bewitchment, king Gopālavarman fell into a hot fever and died after a rule of two years.'[1] The death of king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948), according to one version, is attributed to witchcraft used against him by his magician minister named Vīranātha.[2] Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D. 948-949), the son of Yaśaskara also met with the same fate. The cruel and treacherous minister Parvagupta employed witchcraft against him but before Saṁgrāmadeva breathed his last as a result of it, he was murdered by the impatient minister.[3] Queen Diddā, an ambitious and lascivious woman, is recorded to have destroyed her grandsons Nandigupta (A.D. 972-973) and Tribhuvana (A.D. 973-975) by employing witchcraft.[4] Another queen who behaved like Diddā is Śrīlakhā, the queen of king Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028), the first ruler of the first Lohara dynasty. The licentious queen used witchcraft against her son Harirāja (A.D. 1028) who ruled distinctly for only twenty-two days.[5]

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[1] R.T., V, 240.

[2] R.T., VI, 108-113.

[3] R.T., VI, 121-129.

[4] R.T., VI, 310-312.

[5] R.T., VII, 131-133.

The foregoing account discloses that the practice of witchcraft was widespread in ancient Kashmir. Looking at the cases of kings and queens using this method to destroy their sons, grandsons and others to fulfil their selfish motives, we can hardly expect any state measures issued aimed at stopping this dirty and horrifying practice. Kautilya[1] recommends the employment of spies whose duty should be to detect and banish those who use charms and witchcraft to secure illicit love and injury to others. Whereas in the Manusmṛti[2] and Matsyapurāṇa[3] we read of the imposition of very light punishment, viz. fines of 200 panas only for magic rites, incantations employed to take life and for raising ghosts and goblins, Medhātithi and Kullūka recommend punishment as that of murder for all successful magic rites. But Kashmir produced such kind-hearted kings as Candrāpīḍa who did not take any action against the Brahman sorcerer who used witchcraft against him, declaring that he had followed this course at other's instigation. But for strict measures against this practice taken by Kashmīrian kings, it might have been checked.

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[1] Arthaśāstra, IV, 4.

[2] Manu, IX, 290.

[3] Matsyapurāṇa, 227, 183.

The Rājataraṅgiṇī conveys the belief in divine retribution that falls on evil and oppressive government. Kalhaṇa emphatically declares that the avaricious and oppressive kings are duly punished. 'The splendour of a ruler who practices avarice, causes no one pleasure, /as little as that/ of a flower out of season, which does not promise a fruit. Liberality and kind speech bring everything under the power of the king. Avarice /however/ is bent with force upon destroying in the first place these two /qualities/. As the cloud destroys the lustre, duration and splendour of a winter day, so does avarice that of a king.'[1] Again he writes: 'Those kings who do evil to their subjects, have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay, even their name, destroyed in a moment."[2] In the eighth Taraṅga Kalhaṇa furnishes a chronological list of the kings of Kashmir whose rich treasures they amassed by oppressing the subjects were destroyed by one agency or the other. He believes that 'the wealth which lords of the earth acquire by oppressing the people, must fall a prey of rivals, or of enemies, or else of fire.'[3] He also expresses the belief that violation of the sanctity of the sacred shrines

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[1] R.T., V, 188-190.

[2] R.T., V, 211.

[3] R.T., VIII, 1951.

meets with divine vengeance. The misfortunes of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and his grandson Bhikṣācara (A.D.1120-1121) were the result of desecration of temples which they cruelly carried out.[1]

Equally strong was the belief in supernatural power of the Nāgas or spring deities.[2] Superstitious respect has been attached from early times to the worship of the Nāgas, the tutelary deities and their power much dreaded. They are represented as snakes inhabiting the springs protected by them.[3] At times they appear in human form and sometimes send down snow and darkness. J. Ph. Vogel discusses the form of the Nāgas and writes: 'The distinguished German indologist, the late Professor Hermann Oldenberg, reckons the Nāgas to belong to that class of demonical beings which is best represented by were-wolves. They appear, indeed, often in human shape, as is also the case with were-wolves, tiger-men and swan-maidens..... The conception of a substantial unity between animal and man, which during the Vedic period is met with only in certain survivals, finds an expression in the beliefs in the beings like were-wolves. Presumably, the "tiger-men" belong to this class,

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[1] R.T., VII, 1344 sqq; VIII, 993.

[2] Infra, pp. 413-419.

[3] R.T., IV, 601; VII, 171.

and certainly do the Nāgas, which seem to be men, but in reality are snakes. According to an ancient Buddhist text, their serpent nature manifests itself on two occasions, namely, during sexual intercourse and in sleep.'[1]

We read a legendary account of the destruction of Narapura of King Nara, by the Nāga Suśravas. King Nara aroused the wrath of the Nāga by trying to seduce his daughter of infinite charm whereupon 'casting about dense darkness by thundering clouds of sinister look, he burned the king with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts'.[2] In historical times, in the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063), we know of another story relating how the Dard ruler played with his life by arousing the fury of the Nāga called Pindāraka.[3] Sometimes the Nāgas send down heavy snow, hail and assume the form of clouds.[4] It is due to the protection the Valley has received from the Nāgas that Kashmir is considered superior to other countries.[5]

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[1] Indian Serpent Lore, Introduction, p.2.

[2] R.T., I, 259.

[3] R.T., VII, 169 sqq.

[4] R.T., I, 179, 239; II, 16 sqq.

[5] Si-yu-ki, vol. I, p.148.

A deep-rooted semi-religious belief provided the Brāhmaṇs an esteemed position in the social hierarchy. The belief that disrespect shown to the Brāhmaṇas would bring terrible results made them super human. Their threats of committing suicide by voluntary starvation were much awed lest they bring miraculous consequences and by this belief they had a strong hold in the social order. 'For the Brahmans, if enraged, are able to destroy in a single moment heaven with Indra, the earth and its mountains, hell and its Nāga-princes.'[1] At another place Kalhaṇa writes: 'Beyond conception is the power which austerities gain for those mighty Brahmans, who are capable of reversing the fortune of even great rulers. One has seen the royal fortune when it had been lost through the power of /rival/ heirs and others, restored again; but /when once lost/ in consequence of disrespect shown to Brahmans, it never returns.'[2]

We have referred to the legend[3] narrated in the Nālamata-purāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī regarding the creation of Kashmir

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[1] R.T., IV, 642.

[2] R.T., I, 160-161.

[3] Infra, p. 413 sqq.

and the subsequent freeing of theland from the Piśācas who under the curse of Kāśyapa occupied Kashmir during six months of winter. There was a superstitious awe for the Piśācas, in the minds of the Kashmirians who in accordance with the custom prescribed in the Nīlamatapurāṇa made amusement on the Āśvayujī day by joking and abusing eachother and by throwing mud on one another in an attempt to frighten away the Piśācas who were believed to enter the houses on that day.[1] Many festive rites were connected with the Piśācas. We see that Kalhaṇa in his description of the legend curiously substitutes the Yakṣas[2] for the Piśācas. Other references in the Rājataraṅgiṇī mention the Yakṣas as dwelling in rocks and mountains.[3] Kṣemendra refers to Yakṣas as infesting public tanks visited by the people.[4] We read that the legendary king Dāmodara II got long stone-lined dykes constructed by the Yakṣas.[5] Of the sculptures found at Parihāsapura one is believed to be that of a Yakṣa whose both hands and the head support the entablature above. He 'is

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[1] Infra, p. 369-370.

[2] R.T., I, 184.

[3] R.T., III, 349; I, 319.

[4] Samayamātṛkā, I, 18.

[5] R.T., I, 159.

fashionably dressed and neatly combed. His erect posture, elaborate ornaments and imposing flower wreath seem to indicate that he, not only makes light of the inconvenience of his painful situation, but probably doesnot even feel any trouble.'[1]

The Kathāsaritsāgara narrates numerous stories about the Yakṣas and the Yakṣiṇīs who are described as givers of food and drink, inhabiting trees, specially the banyan, guardians of trees and so on. The works of Kṣemendra also make frequent references to the Yakṣas mentioning them at times to possess people as one of their functions. In the Narmamālā it is said that a lady was possessed of a Yakṣa while taking a bath in an empty house.[2] A Yakṣa proficient in the art of returning home refuses though forced to go.[3] Kṣemendra looks with contempt at the malpractices and the superstition of the Yakṣa cult and discloses the false pretences of the medium. He sarcastically writes that 'a rogue talking incoherently, invoking a Yakṣa by the foot blows of the people and without the help of charmed incense enjoyed good food and drinks'.[4] In the seventh upadeśa

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[1] R.C.Kak, Handbook, p.45.

[2] Narmamālā, II,91.

[3] Samayamātṛkā, V, 49.

[4] Kalāvilāsa, IX, 18, 20.

of the Deśopadeśa, Kṣemendra, while ridiculing an old man's marriage with a young lady, compares the former with an old Yakṣa who due to his old age, keeps a serpent to guard his treasure.[1] In the eighth upadeśa which deals with different characters, Kṣemendra compares the cheating merchant with a nocturnal Yakṣa .

The Rājataraṅgiṇī abounds in references to the Rākṣasas and Bhūtas dwelling in the mountains, rocks and cremation grounds; who are believed to do harm to human beings. M.A.Stein writes: 'Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kaśmīrian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of Devatās and Bhūtas of all sorts on high mountain passes.'[2] In the pages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī we read a lengthy legendary account of the foundation of Pravarapura (Śrīnagara). Kalhaṇa narrates that king Pravarasena II, in his attempt to find an auspicious time (lagna) and place (kṣetra) for the foundation of a new town, reached during the course of his wanderings, the stream Mahāsarit in the vicinity of a cremation field. A ferocious roaring Bhūta is said to have

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[1] Deśopadeśa, VII, 31.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.397.

appeared on the other bank of the stream and inviting the king to his side helped him cross over the stream by making an embankment with his limb and later disappeared by telling the king an auspicious time and saying: 'Build /your/ town where tomorrow you see the measuring line laid down by me.'[1] The line being discovered another day, the desired task was fulfilled. In this legend Kalhaṇa uses the words bhūta, rākṣasa and vetāla indiscriminately for the demon. Five rākṣasas whom king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir received from the king of Laṅkā through an envoy (dūta) despatched to thel atter, are believed to have helped the Kashmirian king in filling a deep lake and perhaps in the foundation of the castle (koṭṭa) of Jayapura.[2]

A popular belief that we can glean from the chronicle of Kalhaṇa, is the idea of possession by a demon and it is in agreement with this belief that the excessive cruelties committed by king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and Sussala (A.D.1112-28) during the later part of their reigns, are ascribed to their being possessed by demons.[3] The terrifying character of the rākṣasa was also maintained in the sculptures of the Valley. We have

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[1] R.T., III, 337 sqq.

[2] R.T., IV, 503-506.

[3] R.T., VII, 1243 sqq; VIII, 1460 sqq.

discovered a head of a rākṣasa from the remains at Pandrethan. The features convey a ferocious look. He is shown having a 'grinning mouth, the wide-open glaring eyes, the matted hair which seems to spring upwards in tongues of flame, and the short, thick and straight beard'.[1]

Mountains and burial grounds (śmaśāna) were believed also to have been haunted by the witches (kṛtyakā, kṛtyā, yoginī). Kalhaṇa acquaints us with a legend bearing Buddhist colouring, regarding the foundation of Kṛtāśrama Vihāra. It is said that once on his way to Vijayeśvara, king Jalauka met a woman who begged food from him and at his readiness to provide her the desired food she changed her form and demanded human flesh. The pious king who had renounced the killing of living beings offered his own body whereupon the witch being impressed at the king's compassion addressed him as Bodhisattva and told him that 'We witches (kṛtyakā) living by the side of Mount Lokāloka /which divides light and darkness/, belong to the darkness /sin/ Putting our whole trust in the Bodhisattvas we long for liberationfrom the darkness.' The witches further told the king that 'when you had lately been kept from sleep by the noise of the music of a Vihāra, you had at the instigation of wicked persons caused in

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[1] R.C.Kak, Handbook, p.37.

your anger the destruction of the Vihāra. The excited Bauddhas thought of me and sent me forth to kill you. But then the Bodhisattvas called me and gave me the following direction: 'That king is a great Śākya (Mahāśākya). You cannot hurt him; but in his presence, O good one, you will obtain liberation from darkness /sin/. In our name you shall exhort him who has been led into guilt by wicked people, to give up his hoarded gold and to build a Vihāra. If he does so, no misfortune shall befall him in consequence of the destruction of the Vihāra, and atonement shall thus be made for him and his instigators.' Therefore, I have tasted in that /former/ disguise your abundant goodness. Today I have been freed from sin. Farewell. I depart.'[1]

After the disappearance of the divine sorceress (Kṛtya), king Jalauka built the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra. The witches (yoginī) are believed to be in a position to put life into a dead body. Kalhaṇa narrates such an anecdote. We learn from him about the piety and devotion of Saṁdhimati, a minister of king Jayendra of the legendary period. The King's ears being poisoned by the wicked men against this sage minister, the latter was reduced to poverty, imprisoned and finally executed. Hearing this sad news, Īśana, the guru of the minister, reached the burial

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[1] R.T., I, 131-147.

ground (śmaśana) to perform the funeral rites. As he was about to perform the rites, he read the following verse on his forehead. 'He will have a life of poverty, ten years' imprisonment, death on the stake, and still thereafter a throne.' The account continues that in his anxiety to find the last prediction of the verse fulfilled, he kept an anxious eye on the spot when one night he 'smelt a heavenly perfume of incense and found on the burial ground witches (yoginī) enveloped by a halo of light'. And to his surprise Īśāna found 'each one of them put /upon the skeleton/ one of their limbs, and then procuring from somewhere a membrum virile, they quickly completed his body'.[1]

There is also clear evidence for the belief in the spirits of the dead (preta) who, suffering from thirst and hunger, are believed to move about.[2]

Numerous measures seem to have been taken as a protection against evil spirits. In Kashmir where the belief in the idea of possession by evil spirits was strong, the Kashmirians were well acquainted with mantravidya, the deployment of which helped to relieve the afflicted from malevolent spirits and from sickness. Kṣemendra refers to astrologers as resorting to incantation

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[1] R.T., II, 104.

[2] R.T., II, 20.

(mantra) to free people from diseases and evil spirits.[1] A spell called Durgottāriṇīvidya[2] is mentioned by Kalhaṇa and the context in which it is referred to, it appears that the chanting of this spell helped across dangers. In addition the Kashmirians believed in the efficacy of amulets which they wore on their bodies as a protection against evil spirits. In the third upadeśa on the prostitute (veiśyà) , Kṣemendra describes her as wearing one hundred and one amulets as a protection against evil spirits.[3] The frog motif appears to have occupied a prominent place in Kashmir. In the Atharvaveda, the frog charm is particularly described as efficacious against fever.[4] In the Kalāvilāsa, Kṣemendra refers to a popular belief that by applying frog's fat a man becomes the beloved of heavenly maidens.[5] In Kashmir as elsewhere in India, other types of amulets might have constituted fish, tortoise, bull, elephant, horse, hare and shapes of different birds. Seeds such as those of mustard,[6] were also used as a protection against evil spirits. Sewing of caps of children with grains of mustard seed as a protection against

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[1] Narmamālā, II, 84-87.

[2] R.T., VIII, 106.

[3] Deśopadeśa, III, 38-39.

[4] Atharvaveda, VII, 116. S.B.E., XLII, p.4.

[5] Kalāvilāsa, IX, 12.

[6] R.T., III, 338.

evil spirits was noticed by M.A.Stein.[1]

The Kashmirians believed not only in the invincibility of the mountains which surround their land but also attached to them great sanctity as being the residence of gods and goddesses. They took pride in their country's security from foreign invasion, afforded by the mountain-walls and believed that their 'Country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soliders'.[2] The mountains have since ancient times received worship as an embodiment of different gods and goddesses who have given their names to the hills. Certain hills received reverence as Svayambhū images and for the miraculous phenomenonthey produced. We have discussed the subject in detail in the chapter on Tīrthas.

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[1] R.T., I, 31, 39.

Chapter IX

FESTIVALS

A study of the Kashmirian texts shows that the valley of Kashmir was in no way behind the rest of India in the celebration of festivals. Many of these were accompanied by dancing, singing, music and theatre and were occasions for great fun and amusement which enlivened the everyday life of the people. Fairs were held on some and bands of strolling players, jugglers, actors and musicians went from street to street amusing people with their performance. The celebrants fasted on many of these festivals, performed the Śrāddha, kept awake during the night and offered worship to the deities with flowers, incense, lamps and varieties of food products in highly decorated temples and houses. The Brāhmaṇas earned special gifts, feasts arranged for relatives and friends, presents exchanged and the high-light of some of these festivals was the displayof tournaments. A comparative study has shown that many festival rites as described in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and observed in the Valley tally closely with other Paurāṇic rites and festivals celebrated in India proper. Some were peculiar to Kashmir. We have tried to check and compare the information provided in the Kashmirian literature, in the case of important festivals, with medieval North, East and South Indian digests dealing with kāla such as the Rājamārtaṇḍa

of Bhoja, Niyatakālakāṇḍa section of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana, Vratakhaṇḍa of Chaturvarga-Cintāmaṇi of Hemādri, Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara etc. Though the life of the people of Kashmir from the tenth century onwards was marked with insecurity and fear due to treason, palace intrigues and rising power of the troublesome Ḍāmaras, the celebration of festive days provided some relief. And the possibility of partial breakdown in the observance of many festivals during this troubled period cannot be ruled out.

The Nīlamatapurāṇa, which provides first-hand information on the subject, starts with the full-moon day of Āśvayuja. The importance of this festival is illustrated at another place, where we read at length about the story of the creation of Kashmir by Kāśyapa. Kāśyapa wanted to introduce men into the country, but at the refusal of the Nāgas to have the company of men, he angrily cursed the Nāgas in consequence of which the country was made over to the Piśācas for six months in each year, viz., from the full-moon day of Āśvayuja to that of Caitra. In Caitra the country was inhabited again by men for the remaining six months. The story continues how the people once strictly observed the rites as enjoined by Nīla Nāga, who delivered their land from the Piśācas. From thence the country became the permanent residence of the people throughout the year. The full-moon day of Āśvina or Aśvayuja was an important day for the Kashmirians

and was devoted to the worship of Nikumbha,, the king of Piśācas, as on this day men were supposed to be possessed by the Piśācas. On the next day, people indulged themselves in singing, dancing and throwing abuse, jokes and muddy water at each other in an attempt to drive away the Piśācas supposed to enter their houses. The day also brought with it festivities in honour of Kaumudī (moonlight). Kaumudī was worshipped and all with the exception of children and convalescent, underwent a fast which was broken at night at the appearance of the moon. Offerings were made to the fire in the name of Rudra, Candra, Umā, Skanda, the Nāsatyas and Nandin. Eating of meat was forbidden and the night was spent around the sacred fire. Among other rites, the devotees are enjoined to keep the fire burning during the six months of the winter and place an oil lamp outside their houses during the nights of the month of Kārttika.[1] Kalhaṇa informs us that the display of horse-play and fights of men lent charm to the festival of Āśvayuji.[2] The day seems

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 376-397.

Āśvayujyaṃ Nikumbhas tu nityam āyāti kāśyapa 1
hatvā Piśācān saṃgrāme vālukārṇavagān bahūn 11 376
pūjārthaṃ tasya kartavyā kaumudī taṃ nibodha me 11 377
.....
Rudraṃ Candraṃ Umāṃ Skandaṃ Nāsatyau Nandinaṃ tathā 1
pūjāyitvārghamālyādinaivedyaiś ca pṛthak pṛthak 11 381
.....
aślīlaṃ vadamānaiś ca hy ākrośadbhis tathādvija 11 391
.....
tataḥ prabhṛti saṃmāsaṃ sveṣu veśmasu mānavaiḥ 11 395
agniḥ saṃnihitaḥ kāryo rātrau viprair viśeṣataḥ 1

to have been observed in a similar fashion in India in the time of the Gāhaḍavālas as Lakṣmīdhara[1] the minister of Peace and War of king Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla of Kanauj (C 1114-1154 A.D.), quoting the Brahmapurāṇa, refers to it prescribing the same rites as enjoined in the Kashmirian Purāṇa. But in Bengal this tithi was celebrated as a Kojāgara or Kaumudī Mahotsava. Jīmūtavāhana in his Kālaviveka prescribes the worship of Lakṣmī and Indra riding Airāvata. At night people lighted lamps of ghee or sesame oil on roads, in temples, parks and houses. The game of dice was played. Next morning after the bath worship was offered to Indra. Brāhmaṇas were served with delicious dishes. Jīmūtavāhana, quoting the Liṅgapurāṇa, writes that Lakṣmī is on the move at night in the world saying who is awake and the celebrants should drink coconut juice and play with numerals.[2] Probably, Alberuni meant this festival of the Kashmirians when he wrote that the people (of India) celebrate the festival of Puhai (?) on the 15th of Āśvayuja,

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rātrau dī paś ca dātavyo māsam ekaṃ bahir gṛhāt ll 396
yāvat Kārttikamāsasya paurṇamāsīṃ dvijottama l
eṣā tu Kaumudī nāma tithiḥ kāryā śivapradā ll 397

[2] R.T., VII, 1551.

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[1] Niyatakālakāṇḍa, pp. 411-413.

[2] Kālaviveka, p.403.

when the moon stands in the last of her stations, Revatī. 'They wrangle with each other and play with the animals. It is holy to Vāsudeva, because his uncle Kaṁsa had ordered him into his presence for the purpose of wrangling.'[1] The popularity of the Āśvayuji day in Kashmir can hardly be overestimated. This, being related to their permanent settlement in the Valley, was celebrated with great consciousness by all and sundry.

In the bright half of the month of Āśvina, the festival of Navāna Vidhana was observed at the time of the ripening of rice (dhānya). Rice being the staple food of the Kashmirians, this occasion was spent amidst great rejoicings. Offerings of fresh rice were made to the devas and the pitṛs. The Brāhmaṇas were honoured and there took place a loud recitation of Vedic texts. People dressed in new clothes and carried out vocal and instrumental music performances. A meal of gur and dried rice was taken in the company of relatives and friends.[2] The fourth of the bright half of Āśvina along with the fourth of Jyaiṣṭha and Māgha was called the triad of 4ths (caturthī-tṛtya)

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[1] Sachau, vol. II, p.180.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 748-754.
dhānye pakve site pakṣe dine daivajñacodite 1
devān pitṛn samabhyarcya jalam agnim dvijāṁs tathā ll 748
dvijātipūjanaṁ kṛtvā daivajñasya ca pijanam 1
navavastraparidhānaḥ svanuliptaḥ svalaṁkṛtaḥ ll 749.

when Durgā was propitiated and pativratas honoured.[1] In the bright half of Āśvina when the Moon was in Svāti, worship was offered to Uccaiḥśravas and in the case of the tithi being the ninth, one's own horses were honoured. Śānti rites were performed and threads of five colours (pañcaraṅga) were tied round the necks of horses. They should not be whipped (tāḍana) nor ridden (vāhana). The following two verses refer to Hastidīkṣa.[2] This festival which is mentioned earlier by Kautilya and Varāhamihira appears to have attained popularity in later times[3] and has been referred to by Bhoja, Lakṣmīdhara and Caṇḍeśvara. The eighth day of the bright half of Āśvina was sacred to Bhadrakālī. The festivities of this festival entered the ensuing day. Worship was offered to the goddess and the devotees took meat, pānaka and other vegetables and offered the same to the Brāhmaṇas. The celebrants dressed gaily, observed the jāgara at night and

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 776-778.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 779-783.
Āśvayujyaṃ śuklapakṣe Svātinā saṃgataḥ śaśī 1
yadā tadoccaiḥśravasaḥ pūjā kāryā prayatnataḥ ll 779
pujanīyaś ca turaga yadi syān navamī dvija 1
śāntisvastyayanaṃ kāryaṃ tadā teṣāṃ dine dine ll 780
dhānyaṃ bhallātakaṃ kuṣṭaṃ vacāsiddharthakānica 1
pañcaraṅgeṇa sūtreṇa tathā badhnīta panditaḥ ll 781

[3] Yuklīkalpataru (Cal. Ed.), pp. 178-179. Rājamārtaṇḍa (A.B.O.R.I, vol. XXXVI, p.328). Niyalākalakaṇḍa, p.407. Kṛtaratnākara, pp. 333-334, 347.

worshipped the books, weapons and musical instruments in the temple of Durgā.[1] The celebration of this festive day in honour of Bhadrakālī was quite popular and known in Bengal, Bihar and other parts of Northern India where the celebrations extended till the tenth day.[2]

The dark half of Āśvina was observed as Śrāddha-pakṣa. Special importance was attached to the sanctity of the thirteenth day (trayodaśī) which was not left without the performance of a śrāddha. And the speciality of the fourteenth day was the offering of pinda to those who had been killed by weapons (astra). The offerings of rice flour, ghee and honey are obligatory.[3] The fourth day of the dark half of āśvina was observed in honour of Dikpālas i.e. Bindusāra-nāga inthe East, Śrīmādaka in the South, Uttarmānasa in the North and Ailapatra in the West. Worship was offered to them and by observing the day with proper rites one's desires were said to be fulfilled.[4] Theninth day was sacred to Gaurī and Durgā. The goddess Durgā and the weapons

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 786-795.

[2] Niyata kālakānda, pp. 407-408; Kṛtyaratnākara, p.350.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 732-737.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 738. Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 928-929.

were worshipped during the night and the next morning was spent in the performance of Nirājaśānti.[1] The ensuing verses of the Nīlamatapurāṇa recommend worship at night after seeing the star Agastya when the sun is in the middle of Virgo (Agastyadarśanapujane).[2]

The first day of the month of Kārttika when the country of Kashmir is supposed to have been created by Kāśyapa, is observed as the New Year's day festival in Kashmir. People dressed in new clothes and made merry by listening to songs and music and taking sumptuous food and drink in the company of near and dear ones.[3] Worship was offered to the home-deity (grhadevī) and offerings were made in one's own house and not on a tree.[4] The festivities of the New Year's day extended for seven days i.e. from the first to the seventh darker half in which all and sundry took part. Vināyaka was worshipped on the first day, on the second Gṛhāśānti was performed and the Gandharvas, Piśācas, Nāgas, Brāhmaṇas and the poor were worshipped on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and the seventh respectively . Houses were

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 739-741.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 742-747.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 450-452.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 796-797.

cleaned and white-washed and decorated and scented with incense. Dancing, singing and musical performances high-lighted the occasion. An image of Kāśyapa was anointed and profusely decorated and installed in a highly decorated car which was taken around the city in a big procession followed by the king and the people. The dancers, actors and the poor were given food and money according to one's capacity.[1]

The festival of lamps (Dīpamālā) was celebrated in Kashmir as in the rest of India, with great mirth and gaity on the darker 15th of Kārttika. The Kashmirian Purāṇa gives a long description of its celebration. The day was marked with the observance of Sukhasuptikā. The devotees, with the exception of children and convalescents, did not eat in the morning and the evening was devoted to the worship of Lakṣmī. People put on new clothes and decked themselves with flowers and ornaments. The Brāhmaṇas earned special gifts on the occasion. Illumination was carried out on the trees, in temples, by waysides, cremation grounds (śmaśāna), river banks, hill tops, roots of trees and houses. Friends and guests were honoured and the occasion was spent amidst singing and music and sports (an allusion to gambling seems to have been made). Houses were scented with dhūpa and

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 847-865.

decorated with lamps.[1] Dīpamāla festival was then, as now, most widely observed throughout India and has been referred to by many medieval writers[2] like Bhoja, Jīmūtavāhana, Lakṣmīdhara, Hemacandra, Caṇḍeśvara etc , under different synonymous names (sukhasuptikā, Sukharātri, Dīpālikā, Dīpotsava etc.).

In the bright half of Kārttika the period from the eleventh to the full moon day was celebrated as Kārttika Pāncarātra. An elaborate description of the various rites to be observed has been given in the Nīlamatapurāṇa. The eleventh and the twelfth were devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu who after his sleep from the month of Āṣādha is supposed to get up then. The celebrants observed jāgara on the eleventh night and engaged themselves in songs and dance. Kīrtana was performed and there took place a loud chanting of texts. The premises were decorated with flowers and scented with dhūpa. Lamps were lit on the trees and the devotees took vegetables, fruits and apupa. On the twelfth night the image of the deity was bathed in the sacred water of the river and after being decorated was nicely installed and worship was offered. Vedic texts were recited to

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 398-407.
tataḥ pakṣe vyatīte tu kartavyā sukhasuptikā 1
pañcadaśyaṃ yathā vipra tatha me gadataḥ śṛṇu ll 389
tasyaṃ divā na bhoktavyaṃ bālāturajanaṃ vinā 1
sūrye tv astam anuprāpte pūjayitvā kariṣiṇīm 1
dīpavṛkṣās tato deyā devatāyataneṣu ca ll 399
catuṣpathaśmaśāneṣu nadīparvataveśmasu 1
vṛkṣamūleṣu goṣṭheṣu catvareṣvāpaneṣu ca ll 400

[2] Rājamārtaṇḍa (A.B.O.R.I. XXXVI, p.329). Kālaviveka, pp. 403-404. (cont.)

the accompaniment of musical instruments such as the vīṇā. Many charitable gifts were made. The bards, mallas and bhaṭṭas were honoured on the thirteenth day. A fast was kept on the fourteenth and the fifteenth and Janārdhana was worshipped. At the rise of the full moon of Kārttika, Krittikās, Kārttikeya, Varuṇa etc. were propitiated. Lamps were put on the trees. Gorasa constituted one of the vegetarian foods taken on the occasion. The Brāhmaṇas earned a special gift of fish of sand with pearls substituted for its eyes.[1]

The seventh of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa was observed in honour of Bhāskara (Sun). The image of Mitra was bathed and installed on the sixth. A representation of the wheel of a chariot (rathacakra) was made and profusely adorned. A fast was observed on the seventh but the celebrants were allowed to take fruits. They kept jāgara and the night was spent amidst songs and dances. Worship was offered to Bhāskara with various kinds of flowers (kusuma). Honey and a preparation of powdered rice (piṣṭa) was taken. After feeding the Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the orphans were attended to. On the eighth, money was given to the actors and the dancers.[2] It is noticeable that the Nīla-

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Dvyāśraya, II, verse 106; Deśīnāmamālā, III, 43. Niyatakālakaṇḍa, pp. 421-422. Kṛtaratnākara, pp. 410-411.

[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 408-449.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 453-455. Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 564-572.

matapurāṇa, also enjoins the observance of similar rites on the lunar sevenths of Māgha and Āṣādha. The festival of Mitrasaptami was also popular among the Gāhaḍavāla and the Mithila people and has been mentioned with identical rites by Lakṣmīdhara[1] and Caṇḍeśvara.[2] Paurṇamāsīvrata was kept on the full-moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa, which was broken at night after offering worship to the moon and the Brāhmaṇas. The moon was worshipped along with nakṣatras on a circle made of salt and pasted with sandalwood paste. Clothes of red colour were given in charity to a beautiful Brāhmaṇa lady, a sister or aunt or to the wife of a friend. The devotees took vegetarian foods and donated garments coloured with gold as a dakṣiṇā. Those women whose husbands were alive were honoured with presents.[3]

In Kashmir, the first fall of snow was observed with great festivities. On the first snow-fall day worship was offered to snow (hima) as also to the Nāgas with flowers, perfumes and fruits. On the occasion people took and gave to the Brāhmaṇas ghee and kulmāṣa. Special feasts were arranged and the singing and dancing performances highlighted the festival. We are further informed that on the day people took new wine

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[1] Nīyatakālakāṇḍa, p.432.

[2] Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 460-461.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 456-460.

(navam madyam), a peculiar custom of the Kashmirians. Śyāmādevi was worshipped with flowers, fruits and perfumes. People took special dishes and made merry in the company of relatives, friends and servants. They listened to songs and music and witnessed the dancing of harlots (pumścalī).[1] We gather from Lakṣmīdhara,[2] who, quoting the Brahmapurāṇa, records many rites and festivities as those described in the Nīlamatapurāṇa in connection with the festival of first snow-fall, that this festival was not only celebrated in Kashmir surrounded by snow-clad mountains, but was known in the plains as well. Later, in the fourteenth century, the Mithila writer Caṇḍeśvara[3] refers to the festival of himapūjā. The date for the celebration of himapūjā has been prescribed by these authors as the fourteenth of the bright half or the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa.

Most of the holy days of Pauṣa fell in the dark half. On the eighth day, śrāddhas were offered to the pitṛs. The celebrants are also enjoined to hold śrāddhas on the eighth day

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 461-468.
navo madyaś ca pītavyo madyapaiḥ patite hime ll 465
Śyāma devī ca sampūjya puṣpadhūpānulepanaiḥ
.....
mitrabhṛtyāptasambandhisahitaiś ca yathāsukham ll 467
bhojyam viśeṣavat kāryam śrotavyam gītavāditam l
draṣṭavyam pumścalinṛttam pūjanīyaś tathā striyaḥ ll 468.

[2] Niyatakālakāṇḍa, pp. 432-434.

[3] Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 471-472.

of the dark of the months of Māgha and Phālguṇa as also on the ninth of the dark half of Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguṇa.[1] After the eighth darker of Pauṣa, the Nīlamatapurāṇa refers to the rites connected with the full-moon day of Pauṣa (Paurṇamāsī). On this day of Paurṇamāsī, the devotees anointed themselves in ghee (ghṛtena snāpanaṃ kuryāt svaśarīrasya mānavaḥ), dressed in new clothes and worshipped Nārāyaṇa, Śukra, Soma, Puṣya and Bṛhaspati. The observance of the day with proper rites was supposed to bring health, wealth (dhanadhānya) and deliverance from sins (pāpanāśanam).[2] Then the Kashmirian Purāṇa refers to the Uttarāyana ceremony according to which the devotees were required to anoint with ghee the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva during the following three months.[3] Of the remaining days of the dark half of Pauṣa, tila homa was performed on the twelfth.[4] Kalhaṇa mentions a festival called Tiladvādaśī but does not mention the month of its celebration. In all likelihood, the festival of Tiladvādaśī of Kalhaṇa is identical with the festival of Nīladvādaśī of the Nīlamatapurāṇa, fixed for the twelfth of the dark half of Pauṣa. Viṣṇu was worshipped and the temples of the deity were thronged by both the elite and the common people.[5] Lakṣmīdhara,[6]

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 469-470.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 470-477.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 478-481.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 482-483.

[5] R.T., V, 395.

[6] Niyatakālakaṇḍa, pp. 435-436.

the Gāhaḍvāla minister, quoting the Brahmapurāṇa refers to the festival of tilas on the dvādaśī of the dark half of Māgha. Dīpas of tila oil were lit in the temples (devagṛha). The devotees ate tila seed and made offerings of it. The fourteenth dayof the dark half of the month of Pauṣa was dedicated to the God of Death. Seven añjalis of sacred water of the river Vitastā, Sindhu or Kanakavāhini were offered to each name of the God of death, i.e. Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla and Sarvaprāṇahar. Dharmarāja was worshipped with flowers, perfumes, tilas, ghee etc. Khichari (Kṛsara) was given to the Brāhmaṇas as a dakṣinā. The observance of the day accordingly brought to the observer purity and deliverance from mahāpātaka.[1] When the conjunction of Śrāvaṇa took place with the fifteenth of the dark-half of Pauṣa, it was known as Pauṣa Śrāvaṇa Pañcadaśī and was observed as a holy day.[2]

Two festive days in the month of Māgha have been recorded. The fourth day of the bright half was dedicated to Umā. Worship

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 484-491.
Yamasya nāmni dātavyāḥ saptasaptajalāñjalīḥ 1
ekaikasmin dvijaśreṣṭha tāni nāmāni me śṛṇu 11 487
Yamāya Dharmarājāya Mṛtyave Cāntakāya ca 1
Vaivasvatāya kālāya Sarvaprāṇaharāya ca 11 488
snātvā ca pūjā kartavyā Dharmarājasya vai tadā 1
puṣpair dhūpais tathā gandhaiḥ kṛsareṇa ca bhūriṇā 11 489

[2] Nīlamathapurāṇa, 492.

was offered to the goddess with lamps, dhūpa, flowers, gur etc. As a mark of honour to the goddess those faithful ladies whose husbands and fathers-in-law were alive also received homage on the occasion. The observant is enjoined to go through this ceremony on the fourth of the bright half of the months of Āśvayuja and Jyaiṣṭha. This was known as triad of fourths (caturthi tritya).[1] The full moon day of Māgha was celebrated by the offerings of cooked food to the crows. Tilaśrāddha was also performed on this day.[2]

The month of Phālguṇa included two very important festivals of the Valley, the festival of Mahīmāna and that of Śivarātri. When the twelfth of the dark half of Phālguṇa had Śravaṇa-nakṣatra (Phālguṇaśravaṇadvādaśī), a fast was kept and worship was offered to Harī.[3] The fourteenth day of the dark half

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 493-497.
Māghamasi site pakṣe caturthī yā bhaved dvija 1
Umāsampūjanaṃ kāryaṃ tasyāṃ saubhāgyam īpsunā 11 493
dīpānnamālyadhūpaiś cāpy ārdrakeṇa guḍena ca 1
kusumbhalavaṇābhyāṃ ca kuṅkumāñjanakaṅkataiḥ 11 494
kundapuṣpaiḥ samānitaiḥ prayatnād api Kāśyapa 1
pūjyāś ca subhagās tatra yoṣitas tu pativratāḥ 11 495
yāsāṃ jīvanti nāthāś ca svasṛprabhṛtayaś ca yāḥ 1
tathaivāśvayuje māsi tathā Jyeṣthe ca kārayet 11 496.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 498.
paurṇamāsyāṃ tu Māghasya Śrāddhaṃ kṛtvā tilair naraḥ 1
kākānāṃ bhojanaṃ dadyāt prabhūtaṃ balisaṃyutam 11 498.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa 506-507.

of Phālguṇa was one of the holiest days of the Kashmirians (as elsewhere in India). It is the festival of Śivarātrī of which there are elaborate descriptions in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī. People fasted and worshipped Maheśa. Animals such as a ram made of flour were offered to the liṅga and pūjā was offered with perfume, incense, coloured clothes (sampūjya gandhamālyādiraktavastrān ulepanaih). The Brāhmaṇas were accorded all honour. The night was spent amidst songs (gīta) and dances (nṛtya). The stories of Śiva were listened to (śrotavyāḥ Śivadharmāś) and animals were decorated as a mark of respect to Śaṁkara as paśupati (paiṣṭāś ca paśavaḥ kāryā naivedya Śaṁkarasya ca). On the next day, Brāhmaṇas were honoured with sumptuous dishes especially kalmaśa. The Gaṇas were presented with fish on the preceding Ekādaśī day.[1] It was a national festival of the Kashmiris and was celebrated with great pomp by the kings as well. Symposiums of learned scholars and poets were held and the participants richly rewarded.[2] Kalhaṇa informs us that king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) used to celebrate the festival of Śivarātrī with magnanimity and 'flooded his people withpresents, just as Indra floods the earth with rain at the conjunctions of planets'.[3]

[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 508-514.

[2] R.T., VIII, 110-111.

[3] R.T., VIII, 70.

Alberuni includes the festival of Śivarātrī in his long list of festivals but puts wrongly the date of its celebration by the people of India. He records that on the day following the full moon day in the month of Phālguṇa, i.e. sixteenth, the people 'worship Mahādeva during the whole night, they remain awake, and offer to him perfumes and flowers'.[1] Paramount importance has been attached to Śivarātrī-vrata in ancient texts. Some Purāṇas go as far as stating that a man becomes like Śiva himself and is rescued from hell and attains bliss and mokṣa, if he, while observing a fast on the day, worships Śiva with bilva leaves and observes jāgara the whole night. Gifts (dāna), sacrifices (yajña), austerities (tapas), pilgrimages (tīrthas) and observances (vrātas) are not equivalent to even one-ten-millionth part of Śivarātrī.[2]

The festivities of Mahimāna, also a very important festival, are still observed in Kashmir. It extended from the eighth to the tenth day of the bright half of Phālguṇa and has been referred to both in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī. People fasted on the eighth day. The lamps were lit on the snow in honour of the gods and pitṛs. The next day was devoted to the worship of Śītā

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[1] Sachau, vol. II, p.184.

[2] Padmapurāṇa, VI, 124, 3-4 and 28-29. Garudapurāṇa, I, 124, 2-3.

and other deities with perfumes and incense. Sumptuous dishes were taken and the time was spent amidst dancing and singing performances. Offerings were made to the Brāhmaṇas and the poor. Presents were exchanged between friends and relatives. Wine was taken on the occasion and given to the Brāhmaṇas as well. Houses were cleaned and perfumed. Women decorated themselves with ornaments and perfumes and sported with men.[1] The kings observed the festival of Mahimāna with celebrity by holding assemblies[2] which must have been highlighted by playing and singing of music and poetic and dramatic contests. In the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom, the eighth day of the bright half of the Phālguṇa was celebrated to commemorate the creation of the earth by Keśava when the houses were profusely illuminated. On the next day people made merry by eating rich dishes and holding singing and dancing performances. As in Kashmir, here also the festivities spread to the next two days when Sītādevī and Lakṣmī were worshipped, money and dishes were given to the Brāhmaṇas, houses were decorated and costly dresses were worn.[3]

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 515-525.
Phālguṇasya tu māsasya śuklapakṣe dvijottama 1
mahimānaṃ yathā kāryaṃ tathā me gadataḥ śṛṇu 11 515
anaśnadbhir athāṣṭamyāṃ naraiḥ snātair alaṃkṛtaiḥ 1
pradoṣasamaye deyā dīpakās tu himopari 11 516.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2072.

[3] Niyatakālakāṇḍa, pp. 441-442.

We find that the Nīlamatapurāṇa records another Mahimāna ceremony to be observed on the eighth, ninth and tenth days of the bright half of Māgha. On the eighth day, cakes were made from all crops and distributed among Brāhmaṇas and relatives. Worship was offered to Rāma and his wife Sītā. Onthe ninth day, food of piṣṭa and honey was taken and Brāhmaṇas were honoured with it. The tenth day was devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu and other kinds of merriment like songs and music.[1] On the Phālguṇa-paurnamaśī, Aryaman was worshipped at night at the rise of Moon and the performer resorted to songs and dancing activities. The next day, the dancers and actors were honoured. The activities continued till the fifth dark half of Caitra and we notice that a diet of parpaṭas (papar) was a speciality.[2]

The month of Caitra was the busiest month in Kashmir so far as the festive days are concerned. The land of Kaśmīra was believed to have menses (rajasvala) like a woman on the fifth of the dark half of Caitra. The ladies made stone images of Kaśmīra and worshipped them for three days. The disabled were given clothes

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 499-505.
aṣṭamyāṃ sarvasasyais tu caruḥ kāryaḥ prayatnataḥ 1
tenāpupais tathā pūjya dvijāḥ sambandhibāndhavāḥ 1
Rāmapatnī tathā pūjya Sītā devī prayatnataḥ 11 502
navamyāṃ piṣṭabhojyena madhuyuktena bhojayet 1
brahmaṇādyan yathāśakti pūjayeta Kariṣiṇīm 11 503.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 526-529.

as dāna. Flowers and incense were forbidden. On the eighth day, the ladies worshipped the images which had first been bathed by Brahmins. They put on gay clothes and used perfumes and comforted themselves by listening to songs and taking sumptuous dishes. The period from the fifth to the tenth signalised the beginning of ploughing and sowing of land (kṛṣyārambha). Worship was offered to Pṛthivī, Baladeva, Mahadeva, Vāmadeva, Divākara, Niśānātha (Moon), Indra, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, Brahma, Kāśyapa, Vāyu, Gagaṇa etc. with incense, flowers etc. Brāhmaṇas were worshipped and given dakṣinas according to one's means. People wore gay clothes and ploughed the land with ploughs (hala) and sowed seeds (bīja) from a golden plate to the accompaniment of loud sacred recitation and engaged themselves in songs, music and dance.[1] The eleventh day of dark half was a festive day for the ladies only. They celebrated this day in honour of Chandodeva to whom pūjā was offered with flesh of aquatic animals (jalodbhavānāṃ māṃsena), delicious eatables and fragrant saffron[2] etc. On the twelfth day they took out of their doors into the compound an image of the deity which was later taken in through a window and was installed according to one's

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 651-669.
Nīlamatapurāṇa (Ed. De Vreese), 530-547.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 548-551.
jalodbhavānāṃ māṃsena bhakṣair uccāvacais tathā 1
mālyair dhūpaiś ca vividhaiḥ kuṅkumena sugandhinā 11 550
evaṃ saṃpūjanaṃ kṛtvā dvādasyāṃ pūjayed budhaḥ 1
dvāreṇādau viniṣkalya gavākṣeṇa praveśayet 1
svaveśmato yathākāmaṃ sthāpayeta tadā dvija 11 551.

liking. The fourteenth day was called the Piśācacaturdaśī when people were supposed to protect their children from the Piśācas. They worshipped Śaṅkara and Nikumbha, the lord of Piśācas (Piśācādhipati). As Nikumbha worshipped Śiva on this day so the offerings were made to him at the rootsand holes of trees, pasture lands, deserted houses, junctions of roads, peaks, rivers, temples, gardens, cremation grounds, rājamārga etc. The devotees remained awake at night in order to provide protection to the children against the Piśācas and indulged in songs and dances. They indulged in sports and witnessed the dance of harlots (pumścalī).[1] On the fifteenth, a śrāddha

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 552-559.

tataś caturdaśīṃ prāpya tām eva dvijapuṃgava 1
saṃpūjya Śaṃkaraṃ kāryaṃ rātrau tu mahad utsavam ll 552
tasyāṃ vipra caturdaśyāṃ Nikumbhaḥ śaṃkaraṃ tadā 1
saṃpūjayati dharmātmā sānuyātro mahābalaḥ ll 553
tasyāṃ tadā prakartavyaṃ niśi nityaṃ prajāgaram 1
pūjā ca devadevasya Śaṃbhoḥ kāryā prayatnataḥ ll 554
pūjanīyoNikumbhas tu Piśācādhipatir balī 1
Piśācānāṃ ca dātavyā balayaś ca susaṃ kṛtāḥ ll 55
palāllopikāmiśrā matsyamāṃsamiśair yutāḥ 1
vṛkṣamūleṣu goṣṭheṣu gṛheṣu vividheṣv api 1 556
catuṣpatheṣu rathyāsu catvareṣu nadīṣu ca 1
śūnyālayeṣu mukhyeṣu girīṇāṃ śikhareṣu ca ll 557
aṭṭālakaśmaśāneṣu rājamārgeṣu Kāśyapa 1
tāṃ rātriṃ lakṣaṇaṃ kāryaṃ bālakāṃ gṛhe gṛhe ll 558
pumścalīsahitair neyā kriḍamānair niśā tu sā 1
brahmacaryeṇa gītena nṛttair vādyair manoharaiḥ ll 559

was held and dogs were offered food after the ceremony.[1]

More than half of the days of the bright half of Caitra were sacred to the Kashmirians. The first day was believed, as elsewhere in India, to be the day of creation by Kāśyapa. The Nīlamatapurāṇa,[2] like other texts,[3] provides a lengthy account of about a hundred verses referring to numerous rites to be observed. Propitiation was given to Brahma, Harī, Maheśa, the rivers, seas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, mountains etc. and mahaśānti rites were performed. New costly clothes were worn, feasts arranged and friends and relatives were invited. The Brāhmaṇas received gifts on the occasion. The festive day of the fifth lunar day of Caitra was known as Śrīpañcamī and was devoted to the worship of Lakṣmī.[4] In South India, the fifth day of the bright half of Caitra was dedicated to the worship of Lakṣmī as Hemādri avers that by worshipping Lakṣmī on this day one earns all rewards that one could obtain in a year.[5] The sixth day was dedicated to the worship of Skaṇda, with perfumes, incense, saffron etc. The

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Ed. D. Vreese), 560.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 561-643.

[3] Niyatakālakāṇḍa, pp. 377-382. Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 103-108.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 766-768.

[5] Caturvargacintāmaṇi, vol. II, pt. I, Vratakhaṇḍa, ch. XII, p.875.

day was observed to secure safety and immunity from diseases for the children.[1] The ninth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth day of this half were devoted to the worship of Bhadrakāli,[2] Vāstu (home deity),[3] Vāsudeva[4] and Kāmadeva[5] respectively. The worship of Skanda and Kāmadeva was also popular among the Gāhaḍavāla and Mithila people. As in Kashmir, there too the sixth, twelfth and thirteenth day of the bright half of Caitra were celebrated in honour of Skanda, Viṣṇu and Kāmadeva respectively.[6] On the full-moon day fell the festival of Nikumbhapūjā. It was believed that on this day Nikumbha undertakes an expedition with his followers against the inhabitants of the ocean of sand. An image of his was made of clay or grass and worship was paid to him at noon in houses with perfume, incense, clothes etc. At moonrise worship was again offered and singing and dancing performances were arranged. Next day people ascended a hillock to say goodbye to the spirit of Nikumbha.[7]

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 647-649.

[2] Ibid., 650-651.

[3] Ibid., 652-653.

[4] Ibid., 654-

[5] Ibid., 655-658.

[6] Niyatakālakānda, pp. 382-384. Kṛtaratnākara, pp. 119,128.

[7] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 659-667.

There were not many festivals in the month of Vaiśākha. The third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha was celebrated as Akṣayatṛtīyā. It was a day of dedication to Viṣṇu. Fire was consecrated and barley (yava) was offered to the god. Viṣṇu is supposed to have brought Gaṅgā on Earth from the Brahmaloka, so Gaṅgā was worshipped. Barley was eaten on this day. It was a day to worship, perform śrāddha, jāpa, homa and give presents.[1] The festival of Akṣayatṛtīyā appears to have been fairly popular in Medieval India. Lakṣmīdhara,[2] quoting Brahmapurāṇa also enjoins a celebrant to offer barley to Viṣṇu and worship Śaṅkara, Gaṅgā and Kailāsa. Dāna, japa, and śrāddha are also recommended. The day has also been recorded by other medieval writers like Jīmūtavāhana[3] and Caṇḍeśvara.[4] But strangely enough Alberuni puts the festival of Gaurī-tritīyā on the third Vaiśākha. It is a festival for the women, writes Alberuni, when 'they wash and dress gaily, worship the image of Gaurī and light lamps before

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 679-683.

[2] Niyaatakālakāṇḍa, p.387.
Vaiśākhe masi śuklayam tṛtīyayaṃ janārdana ।
yavānutpādayāmāsa yugam carbdhvāna kṛtaṃ ॥
brahmaloka tripathagam pṛthivyāmavtāryaṭa ।
tasyāṃ kāryo yavairhomo yavairviṣṇuṃ samarcayet ॥
yavān dadhadiṅujatibhya pṛyata praśyedhvān ।
pūjyec saṅkara gaṅga kailasam tu himācalaṃ ॥

[3] Kālaviveka, pp. 408-409.

[4] Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 155-157.

it, they offer perfumes, abstain from eating and play with swings. On the following day they give alms and eat.'[1] Alberuni seems to have confused this day with the fourth bright half of the following month Jyaiṣṭha which, according to the Brahmapurāṇa as quoted by Lakṣmīdhara,[2] was a festival celebrated in honour of Umā, or the Gaurīvrata[3] of the third day of the bright half of Caitra.

Great value has been attached to the Akṣayatṛtīyā in the Pauranic literature. The Matsyapurāṇa records that vrata on this tithi yields inexhaustible results, that what ever is given in donations, sacrifices or recited on this day becomes indestructible.[4] The Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa avers that everything performed on this day, i.e. snāna, dāna, jāpa, homa, svādhyāya, pitṛtarpaṇa, becomes inexhaustible. Umbrellas, jars of water and footwear should be given (to the Brāhmaṇas). All that is done on this day never finishes and therefore the day has been termed akṣaya (indestructible) by the munis. This tithi is one of the yugādi tithis because the kṛta age began on it.[5]

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[1] Sachau, vol. II, p.179.

[2] Niyata kālakāṇḍa, 389-390.

[3] Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri, vol. II, pt I; Vratakhāṇḍa, Chapter I, pp. 450-452.

[4] Matsyapurāṇa, 65. 1-7.

[5] Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa, 30. 2-3, and 19.

A remarkable feature of the religious life of the Kashmiris was the peaceful existence of Buddhism and other religious sects side by side. In the Nīlamatapurāṇa Buddha is described as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in Kaliyuga, and the celebration of the birthdayof Buddha (Buddhajanmamahotsava) is prescribed on Vaiśākha Śukla when the moon is in Puṣya-nakṣatra. An image of Buddha was bathed with water containing herbs, jewels and scents and installed with recitation by the Śākyas and was worshipped in accordance with the rites of the Śākyas. The Caityas were decorated and coated with honey and the Śākyas worshipped and honoured with presents like cows, clothes (cīvara), food and books. For three days, offerings of eatables (naivedya) , clothes, flowers, etc. were given to the poor (dīnajana).[1] Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāracarita, devotes a Canto to the Buddhāvatāra. On the Vaiśākha pūrṇimā, tilaśrāddha and tilahoma were performed. Tila was eaten and given.[2]

The full-moon day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha was dedicated to Yama. Gifts of umbrellas, shoes and clothes were made on this day. The Brāhmaṇas were fed with rich dishes. By observing the day with proper rites one's sins were supposed to be removed.[3]

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 684-690.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 691.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 822-825.

At the ripening of yavā, the festival of Yavāgrāyaṇa was celebrated in Kashmir with great rejoicings.[1]

On the eighth day of the dark half of Āśādha was celebrated the festival of Vināyaka Aṣṭamī. Prayers were made to Vināyaka and fragrant rice (kalmāṣa) was eaten. Offerings were made to the Brāhmaṇas and the day was spent amidst songs and music.[2] The festival of Vināyaka Aṣṭamī seems to have been unknown in Bengal but in the Mithila region and among the Gāhaḍavāla inhabitants, Vināyaka Aṣṭamī was celebrated when people took barley and māṣa and spent the occasion with vocal and instrumental music.[3] When the tithi is in conjunction with the Svāti-nakṣatra worship was paid to the Wind-God (Vāyu).[4]

The period from the eleventh to the fifteenth of the bright half of Āśāḍha was dedicatedd to the worship of Viṣṇu. This is the time when Viṣṇu is supposed to sleep to get up during the Kārttika Pañcarātra. A statue of Viṣṇu having his emblems i.e. Śaṅkha, Chakra and Gada, was installed. On the Ekādaśī, home was performed and the devotees observed jāgara. The activities from the twelfth to the fifteenth included worship, honouring of Brāhmaṇas

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 696-697.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 698-700.

[3] Niyatakālakāṇḍa, p.390. Kṛtyaratnākara, p.198.

[4] Nīlamatpurāṇa, 700-702.

and the distribution of money among the poor and the actors (raṅgajīvina).[1] There is voluminous literature dealing with the holiness of Āṣāḍha Ekādaśī. The medieval Indian writers like Bhoja, Lakṣmīdhara, Jīmūtavāhana and Caṇḍeśvara, dealing with kāla, by quoting various Purāṇas, have also described various rites connected with the ceremony of Viṣṇu going to sleep for four months from Āṣāḍha bright Ekādaśī to Kārttika bright Ekādaśī.[2] The Purāṇas attach exaggerated importance to the efficacy of Ekādaśīvrata. According to a passage of Nāradapurāṇa which also occurs in the Padmapurāṇa, 'by the fire arising from [the observance of] ekādaśī, fuel in the form of sins committed in hundreds of past lives is reduced to ashes. Thousands of Aśvamedha sacrifices and hundreds of Vājapeya sacrifices do not reach even up to the sixteenth part [of the merit] of the fast on ekādaśī. This ekādaśī bestows heaven and mokṣa, confers a kingdom and sons [on a man] and a good spouse and the health of the body. The Ganges, Gayā, Kāśi, Puṣkara, Kurukṣetra, the Narmadā, the Devikā, the Yamunā, the Candrabhāgā are none of them equal to the day of Hari.'[3] At another place the Padmapurāṇa records that 'on hearing

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 703-706. Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 836-841.

[2] Rājamārtaṇḍa (A.B.O.R.I., vol. XXXVI, p.314). Niyatakālakāṇḍa, p.391 sqq. Kālaviveka, pp. 175-185. Kṛtyaratnākara, p.204 sqq.

[3] Quoted in Hemādri on kāla, p.146. Quoted in Kālanirṇaya, pp. 273-274. Padmapurāṇa, Adhikhaṇḍa 31. 157, 160, 161, 162.

the word ekādaśi, the messengers of yama become afraid; having fasted on ekādaśi which is the best among all vratas, one should keep awake [in the night] for propitiating Viṣṇu and should sumptuously decorate [the temple or maṇḍapa of] Viṣṇu. The man who worships Hari with basil leaves secures by each single leaf the reward of a crore of sacrifices.'[1] The texts impose numerous restrictions on the day of fast and the most common amongst them is that one should avoid speaking with persons guilty of grave sins, antyajas (untouchables), woman in her monthly illness or recently delivered, sleep during the day, play with dice and sexual intercourse.[2]

The Nīlamatapurāṇa refers to the festival of Dakṣiṇāyana when people cooked and ate different kinds of dishes. The Brāhmaṇas received special gifts such as powdered barley (saktu), gorasa, sugar (śarkara) and vegetables.[3]

In the month of Śrāvaṇa when the tithi is in conjunction with the Rohiṇi nakṣatra kāśyapa, the creator of the land of Kashmir, was worshipped. The Brāhmaṇas were honoured and the cows with their calves were given grass and other food.[4] The Śrāvaṇi festival

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[1] Padmapurāṇa, Brahmakhaṇḍa, 15. 2-4.

[2] Harita quoted by Hemādri on Vrata, I, p.1008. Harita quoted by Kālanirṇaya, p.265. Devala quoted by Kṛtakalpataru (Vrata), p.4. Devala quoted by Kṛtaratnākara, p.57. Devala quoted by Kālaviveka, p.452.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 708-709.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 847-851.

appears to have been celebrated with great éclat. Viṣṇu was worshipped at the junction of Vitastā and Sindhu (Vitastāsindhu-saṅgama). The Brāhmaṇas and the disabled were fed on this occasion. The water-sports in which young men and girls participated highlighted the festival which provided them with an opportunity to select good companions.[1]

Many holy days fell in the month of Bhādra. The birth of Kṛṣna was celebrated on the eighth of the dark half of Bhādra. P.V.Kane[2] discusses at length the time of the celebration of Kṛṣnajanmāṣṭamī celebrated almost all over India with great zeal, i.e. eighth of Śrāvaṇa dark half (Bhādrapada dark, if the month is Pūrṇimānta) and its relation with the festival of Jayantī (celebrated when on the eighth of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa there is Rohiṇī-nakṣatra. He has shown that these were two separate festivals and records from texts various rituals connected with both. The Nīlamatapurāṇa records that worship was made to Kṛṣna as also to Devakī and Yaśodā and to the Brāhmaṇas with incense, sandalwood paste, various fruits and foods and the devotee observed the jāgara. On the ninth, the ladies, dressed in showy dresses, took the images of Kṛṣna, Devakī and Yaśodā to the bank of a holy river or a charming lake. They bathed the images and busied themselves in songs

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 852-856.

[2] History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. V, pt. I, p. 128 sqq.

and music. Returning home they took food of barley, ghee, pepper etc.[1] The fifteenth of the dark half was known as Maghāmavasī and was sacred to the manes. Pitṛs were worshipped and tila-śrāddha was performed in their honour.[2]

The fourth day of the bright half of Bhādra was sacred to Śiva and was known as Dhanada Caturthī. The Brāhmaṇas were honoured with sumptuous food. Ganeśa was worshipped to whom sweetmeats were offered. The celebrants engaged in dāna, śnāna, Japa, pāṭha etc. One is enjoined not to see the Moon on this night; if one did see it by mistake, one was supposed to be guilty of theft. But the guilty can clear himself of the false accusation by uttering the verse: 'A lion killed Prasenajit, the lion was killed by Jāmbavat; don't cry, O Sukumāraka, this is your Syamantaka jewel.'[3] This prescription has also been suggested by many Purāṇas.[4] The story these Purāṇas narrate and which is

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 716-722.
pūjanaṃ Devadevasya Devyāś caiva yathāvidhi ll 718
Devakī ca Yaśodā ca tathā pūjye dvijottama l
.....
naditīre śubhe ramye vivikte sarase 'pi vā l
nayeyuḥ pratimāḥ sarvā gītavādyair manoharaiḥ ll 721
tasminn ahani bhoktavyaṃ bhojanaṃ yavasaṃbhavam l
yuktam ikṣuvikāraiś ca maricaiś ca ghṛtena ca ll 722.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 723-725.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 888-895.

[4] Vāyupurāṇa, 96. 20-52. Agnipurāṇa, 175. 40-44. Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 13.3-18. Brahmapurāṇa, 16. 12-45. Padmapurāṇa, V, 13.78-93.

referred to also in the Mausalaparva,[1] goes that once Prasena's brother Satrājit was granted by the Sun, the jewel Syamantaka that gave eight bhāras of gold every day. Kṛṣṇa fell for this jewel but failed to secure it. Once Prasena, being decked with the jewel, went out hunting and was killed by a lion. The lion was killed by Jāmbavat who took the jewel. Suspicion fell on Kṛṣṇa that he caused the death of Prasena for the sake of the jewel. This could not be tolerated by Kṛṣṇa who entered the cave of Jāmbavat after hearing the above verse said by the nurse from inside the cave. Kṛṣṇa defeated Jāmbavat after twenty one days struggle, secured the jewel and on his return to Dvārakā handed over that jewel to Satrājit, Prasena's brother, and freed himself of the false charge. The remedy provided in the Tithitattva is that the guilty person should utter the verse over some water, drink it and listen to the story of the Syamantaka jewel.[2]

This festival day of the bright half of Bhādra was also observed in other parts of India. The women of Bengal, according to Jīmūtavāhana,[3] undertook a fast and offered worship to Śiva and his wife. They honoured their in-laws by offering them gur, salt, pūpa

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[1] Mausalaparva, 3.23.

[2] Tithitattva, p.32.

[3] Kālavivika, p.411.

etc. The day has been recorded by Bhoja, as Haritālikā sacred to Pārvatī.[1]

The fifth day of the bright half of Bhādra was known as Varuṇapañcamī and was dedicated to the worship of Nīlanāga, Umadevī, Satī, Dhanadā, Varuṇa, Lakṣmī etc.[2] The festivities in connection with the Aśokikāṣṭamī festival extended from the sixth to the eighth day of bright half of Bhādra. The Asoka tree is described as Devī herself to whom worship was made. The festival earned propitiation for women and children and the goddess Umā was worshipped. The devotees engaged in sports, singing and dancing and ate rice and gur in a charmingly decorated garden.[3] It looks certain that the festival of Aśokikāṣṭamī of the Kashmirians was identical with the Aśokāṣṭami referred to by Bhoja, Jīmūtavāhana, Hemādri and Caṇḍeśvara. But in Eastern and Southern India, Aśokāṣṭami festival was celebrated on the eighth bright half of Caitra as these writers prescribe that on this day, one should worship Durgā with Aśoka flowers and drink water mixed with eight Aśoka buds. The devotee is enjoined to worship the Aśoka tree with the mantra.[4] Alberuni puts the festival of Dhurvagriha (?) on

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[1] Rājamārtaṇḍa (A.B.O.R.I., vol. XXXVI, 323).

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 896-901.

[3] Ibid., 902-907.

[4] Rājamārtaṇḍa (A.B.O.R.I., vol. 36, p.333). Kālaviveka, p.422. Kṛtyaratnākara, pp. 126-127. Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, vol. II, pt. I, Vrata Kaṇḍa, ch. XII, pp. 862-63.

the eighth day. The people of India, according to him, 'wash and eat well-growing grain-fruit so that their children may be healthy. The women celebrate this festival when they are pregnant (and desire to have children)'.[1] We should agree with B.P.Mazumdar's[2] identification of the festival of Dhurvagriha (?) of Alberuni with the Durvāṣṭamī of Caṇḍeśvara, the Mithila writer of the fourteenth century who prescribes that on the day if men and particularly the women observe a fast and offer worship to Śaṅkara and Ganeśa with grass, date palms, cocoanut etc., the devotee would get in return learning, progeny and wealth.[3] Nandā or Nandikā was worshipped with gur, a pūpa etc. on the ninth bright half of Bhādra. The day was spent amidst dancing, singing and musical performances and partaking of food consisting of gur, rice and sugar cane.[4] The twelfth day was famous for the celebration of Bhādradvādaśī. The day was known as Mahādvadaśī when this tithi conjoined with Śravaṇa. Harī was worshipped and the day was devoted to japa, śnāna, dāna and śrāddhas.[5] M.A.Stein and now B.P.Mazumdar identify the festival of Indradvādaśī, which according

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[1] Sachau, vol. II, pp.180-181.

[2] Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.287.

[3] Kṛityaratnākara, pp. 283-285.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 908-911.

[5] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore edition), 918-927.

to Kalhaṇa was celebrated with great éclat and enthusiasm by Kashmirian kings, with the festival of Mahadvādaśī. We would also agree with B. P. Mazumdar's indentificatinn of thefestival of Indradvādaśi of the Rājataraṅgiṇī with the festival of Indradhvajochchrāya which was celebrated in India on the eighth bright half of Bhādra or around this date according to the constellation. What is more convincing is the close resemblance of Indradvādaśī with Indradhvajochchrāya, in so far as all the ancient and medieval literature declares the latter as a political one to be celebrated by the king with special care and jubilation, a fact shared by Kalhaṇa. He writes that king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) used to hold combatants' duels on the occasinn of Indradvādaśī. festival and richly rewarded the participants.[1] King Sussala (A.D. 1112-1120) surpassed even his brother Uccala in the celebration of this festival, as Kalhaṇa records that 'the Indradvādaśī festival was celebrated by no other king so brilliantly as by him who gave away plenty of dresses and other /presents/'.[2] The thirteenth dayof the bright half of Bhādra was observed as the birthday of Vitastā, the manifestation of Pārvatī. Much devotion was attached to the river and its junction with the Sindhu river (Vitastāsindhu saṁgama). The day was devoted to the worship of

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[1] R.T., VIII, 170, 182.

[2] R.T., VIII, 495.

the river Vitastā.[1] The Nīlamatapurāṇa refers to Devayātrotsava and prescribes certain tithis on which the Yātrotsava should be performed, viz. on the fourth in the temple of Vināyaka, on the sixth in the temple of Skaṇda, on the seventh in the temple of Sun, on the ninth in Durgā's temple, on the fifth in Lakṣmī's temple, on the eighth or fourteenth in Śiva's temple, on the fifth, twelfth or the full moon in the temples of Nāgas and on the Sukla fifteenth in temples of all gods.[2]

The foregoing account of festivals tends to show that the Kashmiris like their brethren in India spent a fair amount of time in religious pursuits and hardly was there a week in which there did not occur one of these festivals. Āśvayuja, Kārttika, Pauṣa, Phālguṇa, Caitra and Māgha were the busy months having a festival after every second or third day. The narrative unveils the fact that the Śaiva festivals outnumbered the

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 912-917.

[2] Nīlamayapurāṇa, 842-846.
Vinayakagṛhe yatrā caturthyāṃ samprasāsyate ।
ṣaṣṭyāṃ Kumārasya gṛhe saptamyāṃ Savitus tathā ॥ 842
Durgagṛhe navamyāṃ ca pañcamyāṃ Śrigṛhe tathā ।
aṣṭamyāṃ vā caturthyāṃ vā Mahādevanivesane ॥ 843
Śakravesmani caṣṭamyāṃ paurṇamasyāṃ kalābhṛtaḥ ।
Dhanadasya caturthyaṃ tu pañcamyāṃ Varuṇasya tu ॥ 844
pañcami dvādaśi caiva paurṇamaśi tathaiva ca ।
sarveṣam eva nāgānāṃ yatrākarmaṇi pūjitāḥ ॥ 845
śuklapañcadaśi śastā sarvadeveṣu Kāśyapa ।
sarvāsu karyaṃ tithiṣu tathā Tithinivesane ॥ 846.

Vaiṣṇava, Buddhist and others connected with minor gods and goddesses. We observe that the dates and celebrations of many of the festivals observed in Kashmir, were in uniformity with other parts of India, and in some cases a different picture is noticeable. Festivals like the New Snow-fall when new wine was taken in the company of dancing girls, the birthday of Buddha, the first day of Kārttika when the land of Kashmir was supposed to have been produced by Kāśyapa, the full moon day of Āśvayuja which is connected with the full time permanent settlement of the Kashmirians in the Valley, and those celebrated in honour of Nīlanāga, the protector of the land of Kashmir and the Piśācas were peculiar to Kashmir and celebrated with the greatest zeal.

Only a keen observer who is acquainted with the topography of Kashmir and has personally visited the Valley can truly appreciate the distinction in the observance of festivals between these hill people and their brethren in the plains. The celebrations here had different charm and appearance than those in the plains. We should not turn our back onthe fact that the land of Kashmir was holy, encircled by the mountains where the gods and goddesses reside, scores of sacred rivers which are manifestations of goddesses run in merriment, it is dotted with holy springs which had their tutelary deities in the Nāgas, and there existed many Svayambhu holy sites. Under these sacred

environmental conditions here the festival rites were observed more strictly and in their entirety than in other parts of India. The land of Kashmir provided to its devotees all the paraphernalia they needed. The celebrants adhering to different cults could find sacred sites of their faith at an arm's length within the sacred country of Kashmir. For example, if a devotee, in accordance with the festival rite enjoined in the Nīlamatapurāṇa wants to light lamps on the snow, mountains, river banks, forests, springs, temples etc., he can do so easily. On the other hand, for a similar rite his brethren in India would either be devoid of all this completely or even if some of these requirements are available, will be so distantly situated and so difficult of access that he will prefer to avoid this rite rather than undertake a troublesome journey. Also the Kashmirian celebrant being in custody of numerous Tīrthas was better placed and could reap additional reward by taking an easy pilgrimage to the Tīrtha of the deity in honour of which a particular festival is being celebrated.

The other reason for the strict observance of these festival rites in Kashmir was that they came from Nīlanāga, the protector of the land of Kashmir, through the Nīlamatapurāṇa, the only ancient holy scripture on Hinduism for the Kashmirians and which was and still is to them what the holy Bible is to the Christians.

The Nīlamatapurāṇa was and is authoritative and its rites obligatory and binding on the Kashmirians. It was difficult for them to disobey its prescriptions. Kalhaṇa records that after the death of king Dāmodara I, the god Kṛṣṇa installed the king's pregnant widow Yaśovatī on the throne. When there was an uproar of anxiety among the people at this installation, Lord Kṛṣṇa had to appease them by reciting this verse from the Nīlamatapurāṇa: 'Kaśmīr-land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires his own prosperity, will not despise him.'[1] The Kashmirians accepted this rendering from the Nīlamatapurāṇa and accepted Yaśovatī as their mother and goddess. Similarly, referring to the flourishing state of Buddhism in Kashmir under the leadership of Bodhiṣattva Nāgārjuna, Kalhaṇa writes deplorably that 'these enemies of tradition brought to an end the observance of the rites prescribed in the Nīlamatapurāṇa' . There fell excessive snow 'when the traditional customs were broken in the land'. At this time when people were perishing, the Brāhmaṇa Candradeva, a descendant from Kāśyapa, practised severe austerities and pleased Nīlanāga, the protector of the land, who manifested himself to the Brāhmaṇa, removed the sufferings of the

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[1] R.T., I, 72.

people from snow and revealed anew the rites prescribed in his own Purāṇa. All troubles ceased after the re-establishment of the rites originating from the Kashmirian Purāṇa. This shows the authority and the efficacy of the rites enjoined in the Nīlamatapurāṇa.

Chapter X

TĪRTHAS AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

The whole vale of Kashmir is sacred.[1] The literature of the Valley, especially the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī, give a strong flavour to its holiness and these texts are richly perfumed with the holy sites. The lake which occupied this space is called 'the lake of Satī' (Satīsaras) and the land that was created after the desiccation of the lake is described as the land of Pārvatī and its king a portion of Śiva.[2] After the creation of the land, Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the host of gods who joined the Prajāpati Kaśyapa to subdue the demon Jalodbhava, took up their residence on the mountains and the goddesses in the rivers. As the following account will show, the mountains, rivers and springs with which the Valley is richly endowed, are the manifestations of different gods, goddesses and the nāgas. The sacredness of his land is best illustrated by Kalhaṇa who writes: 'In that country which Keśava (Viṣṇu) and Iśāna (Śiva) adorn as Cakrabhṛt and Vijayeśa, as well as in other forms, there

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[1] Vanaparva, 130, 10; Lakṣmīdhara, the Minister of War and Peace of King Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla (c.1114-1154 A.D.) recognises in his Tīrthavivechanakāṇḍa of Kalpataru the holiness of Kashmir.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 9; R.T., I, 72 antarvatnīṃ tasya patnīṃ Vāsudevo' bhyaṣecayat | bhaviṣyatputrarāj yārthaṃ tasya deśasya gauravāt ||

is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tīrtha.'[1] The holy places which were worshipped with great devotion and reverence are the self-created images of gods, sacred rivers and streams, confluences of rivers, mountains, springs and the forests. The ancient texts,[2] amply echo the holiness of the mountains, rivers and their confluences. A sūtra in the Gautama and Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra states that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods'.[3] These objects of worship were conducive to meditation and spiritual life and the Rājatavaṅgiṇī acquaints us with ample cases of retirement to tīrthas by the kings and people alike, to lead a peaceful and spiritual life. This retirement to the tīrthas, with a wish to die there and the cases of actual death or suicide at certain tīrthas seem to suggest that the Kashmirians were well aware of this promise contained in literary works,[4] that death at tīrthas

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[1] R.T., I, 72.

[2] Ṛgveda, VIII, 6, 28. Vājasaneya-Saṁhita, 26, 15. Vāyupurāṇa, 77, 117. Kūrmapurāṇa, II, 37, 49-50. Nīlamatapurāṇa, 35-36.

[3] Gautama Dharmasūtra, 19, 14. Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra, 22, 12.

[4] Śalyaparva, 39, 33-34. Anuśāsanaparva, 25, 62-64. Vanaparva, 85, 83. Kūrmapurāṇa, I, 32, 22; 37. 16, 39. Matsyapurāṇa, 186. 34-35.

leads to Mokṣa. Of the deep-felt importance of tīrthayātras in Kashmir, Sir Aurel Stein remarks: 'Time and even the conversion to Islām of the greatest portion of the population, has changed but little in this respect. For besides the great Tīrthas which still retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its Ziārat for the Muhammadan. Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kaśmīr.'[1]

Kalhaṇa devotes enough space to the importance of Tīrthayātra in the life of an individual and his Chronicle and the Nīlamatapurāṇa breathe the recognition of the deep faith by the Kashmirians that tīrthayātra is an easy and popular means for redemption of sins. Much has been said on this score in ancient literature, which requires an individual to cultivate high moral qualities in order to reap full merit of pilgrimages. The Vanaparva states: 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the /full/ reward of pilgrimages. He who

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p. 367.

turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity retains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings [for earning money], is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is [therefore] free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages.'[1] The Vāyupurāṇa says: 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tīrthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts [about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there], who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning - these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages.'[2] The Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa records: 'When resort is made to a tīrtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all varṇas and āśramas.'[3]

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[1] Vanaparva, 82, 9-12.

[2] Vāyupurāṇa, 77, 125, 127.

[3] Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, III, 273, 7 and 9.

The Kashmirians were zealously devoted to tīrthayātras and we learn from Kalhaṇa about their visits to other places of pilgrimage outside Kashmir, such as Kurukṣetra and Vārāṇasī. Similarly the tīrthas of Kashmir have attracted people from other parts of India, speaking different languages, wearing different dresses and observing different manners on the occasion and thus served as a meeting ground for cultural exchange between the Kashmirians and the outsiders. And Kashmir must have experienced localisation in some of the industries, as the artisans had to meet the demand of the people to take back something from every tīrtha as a memorial of their yātra.

Kalhaṇa who admits to have derived his information from the Nīlamatapurāṇa gives in his chronicle a list of the important holy sites. It may reasonably be inferred from the accuracy he displays about the topography of some of the popular tīrthas, that the chronicler has personally visited them. This holds true particularly in the case of Nandikṣetra - the favourite place of pilgrimage of his father Caṇpaka, shrine of Bhūteśvara and the tīrtha of Śārada. We shall briefly take into account some of the most popular and frequently visited tīrthas as the detailed description of every single tīrtha will fill volumes.

Nature has endowed the Valley with numerous springs and lakes which, according to the ancient traditional belief, are

believed to be the residence of Nāgas. Every spring has its deity in the form of a Nāga and much respect and devotion has, since ancient times, been attached to their worship. The Nīlamatapurāṇa gives a lengthy account of these Nāgas. It narrates how the Nāgas, the children of Kaśyapa from his wife Kadrū, being persecuted by Garuḍa, the son of Kaśyapa from another wife Vinatā, approached Viṣṇu who gave them asylum in the Satīsaras.[1] Kalhaṇa does not forget this story when he writes: 'To protect, forsooth, the Nāgas who came /to seek shelter/ afraid of Garuḍa, it has stretched out its arms high above in the guise of mountain walls.'[2]

Kalhaṇa starts his account of the tīrthas with the Nīlanāga - the lord of the Nāgas. The land of Kashmir 'is protected by Nīla, the lord of all Nāgas, whose regnal parasol is formed by the circular pond of the Nīlakuṇḍa with the Vitastā's newly rising stream as its stick'.[3] The passage communicates the great respect and reverence in which the sacred Nīlakuṇḍa and its deity Nīlanāga has, since ancient times, been held, also as the source of the river Vitastā. Kalhaṇa compares the Nīlakuṇḍa with the regal parasol and the river Vitastā which is traditionally

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 51 seq.

[2] R.T., I, 31.

[3] R.T., I, 28.

taken as issuing from this kuṇḍa to the stick supporting the parasol. The legend recorded in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and reproduced in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi narrates how Śiva brought to earth his consort Pārvatī in the form of the river Vitastā by striking the earth with his trident.[1] The tīrtha bore the name of Nīlakuṇḍa (Nīlakantha in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi), Vitastā and Śūlaghāta[2] and was one of the most popular tīrthas of Kashmir, particularly visited on the occasion of the first fall of snow and the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada etc.[3] The other popular Nāgas mentioned by Kalhaṇa are Śaṅkha and Padma.[4] Sir Aurel Stein agrees with G. Buhler's[5] identification of Padma Nāga with Mahāpadma Nāga of the later passages in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, who is regarded as the tutelary deity of the Mahapadmasaras or Volur lake. The Nīlamatapurāṇa records an interesting story about the Mahāpadma Nāga. The lake is said once to have been the dwelling of a wicked and cruel Nāga, Ṣaḍaṅgula by name. He was a source of trouble and used to

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 247 seq. Haracaritcintāmaṇi, XII, 2-34.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1288.
Nīlakuṇḍaṃ Vitastākhyāṃ Śūlaghātaṃ tathaiva ca।
tīrthaṃ Trināmakaṃ dṛṣṭvā svargaloke mahīyate ॥
Haracaritacintāmaṇi, XII, 17.

[3] Supra, pp. 379-380.

[4] R.T., I, 30.

[5] Report, pp. 9-10.

abduct the women of the neighbouring tracks. This excited the wrath of the Nīlanaga who turned him out to a distant mountain Uśiraka. As a consequence the lake became a land over which was founded a town Candrapura. Once the town was visited by the Muni Durvāsas who got annoyed with the reigning king and passed a curse (śapatha) effecting its destruction by water. At this time, Nīlanāga who was in the know of this curse was approached by Mahāpadma Nāga asking refuge in Kashmir. As all other places were occupied by different nāgas, the Nīlanaga told Mahāpadma to occupy Chandrapura. Guised as an old Brāhmaṇa the Mahāpadma Nāga went to the King Viśvagaśva ruling over Candrapura and was granted habitation. Throwing off his disguise the Nāga Mahāpadma apprised the king with the curse of Durvāsa Muni as a consequence of which the town was to be transformed into water. Viśvagaśva left the town and founded another one two yojanas further west and named it Viśvagaśvapura. The lake became a permanent abode of Mahāpadma Naga.[1] The Rājataraṅgiṇī connects another legend with the Nāga Mahāpadma who appeared in a dream to King Jayāpīḍa and invoked his help against a Draviḍian sorcerer who threatened his existence by leading him away from his lake. In return the Nāga promised to show to the king a mountain containing gold ores. The king agreed but before

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 952 seq.

actually helping allowed the sorcerer to dry up the lake. The Nāga could not stomach this insult and against his promise showed to the king a copper mine.[1] The tīrtha of Mahāpadma was very popular and has been referred to by other Kashmirian authors.[2] G. Buhler[3] and M. A. Stein[4] show that the modern name Vulur is a derivation of Sanskrit Ullola 'a lake with high-going waves' mentioned first by Jonarāja.[5]

The Kashmirian texts refer to the Takṣakayātra festival which was held on the twelfth dark half of Jyaiṣṭha.[6] The festival connected with the Takṣaka Nāga pilgrimage appears to have been celebrated with great enthusiasm and was as Kalhaṇa informs us, 'frequented by dancers and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators'.[7] The Nāga was worshipped in a pool of limpid water which lay near the village of Jayavana or modern Zevan,[8] a neighbouring village of Khonamuṣa - the birthplace of

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[1] R.T., IV, 592 seq.

[2] Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, III, 9. Jonarāja, 909-913, 949. Śrīvara, II, 292, 528; IV, 200.

[3] Report, p.9.

[4] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.174.

[5] Jonarāja, 938 seq.

[6] R.T., I, 220.

[7] R.T., I, 222.

[8] Report, p.5. M.A.Stein R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.36.

Bilhaṇa. The poet Bilhaṇa who must have paid many pilgrimages to this tīrtha, situated as it is near his village, gives the following information: 'Only a Gavyūti and a half away from that Pravarapura there is a place called Jayavana, with towering monuments, where a well of pure water serves as a disc of Takṣaka King of serpents, for beheading Kali intent on destroying Dharma /righteousness/.'[1] We learn from Kṣemendra that during the Takṣakayātra festival the sale of liquors continued for three days during all the twenty-four hours.[2] The tīrtha of Takṣaka Nāga was extremely popular in ancient times and finds a popular place in the list of the tīrthas mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The cultivation of saffron in the Valley, which grows in the vicinity of the tīrtha, is said to have originated from the Takṣaka Nāga.[3] The tempo of the Takṣakayātra appears to have been greatly enhanced by its coincidence with the commencement of the saffron cultivation in Jyaiṣṭha. The account of Abul Fazl is not without interest. He records that 'In the village of Zewan are a spring and a reservoir which are considered sacred, and it is thought that the saffron seed came from this spring.

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[1] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70.

[2] Samayamātṛkā, II, 88.

[3] Fourth Chronicle, 931 seq.

When the cultivation begins they worship at this fount and pour cow's milk into it. If as it falls it sinks into the water, it is accounted a good omen and the saffron crop will be plentiful, but if it floats on the surface, it will be otherwise.'[1] The devotee is also recommended to visit the Takṣaka Nāga on the Jyaiṣṭha Pūrṇimā in connection with the pilgrimage to Harṣeśvara Tīrtha.[2] As the village of Jayavana or Zevan falls on the way to Khonamuṣa having the Harṣeśvara Tīrtha, the pilgrims conveniently visited the Takṣaka Nāga.

The most numerous were the tīrthas connected with the worship of Śiva. We are informed that in the village of Kapateśvara or modern Kōṭhēr, was the Tīrtha of Pāpasūdana (sin removing) where Śiva was worshipped under the name of Kapateśvara. The object of yātra was the holy spring of Pāpasūdana situated close above the village of Kapateśvara. The devotees 'touching the wooden image of the husband of Umā at the Tīrtha of Pāpasūdana, obtain comfort in life and find liberation thereafter as their rewards',[3] writes Kalhaṇa. The legend of the Tīrtha as narrated in the Nīlamalapurāṇa states that ṛṣis numbering a crore, once commenced their journey from the banks of

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[1] Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p.358.

[2] Harṣeśvarmāhātmya, verse 80 quoted by M. A. Stein R.T.(Engl. Tr.) Vol. I, p.36.

[3] R.T., I, 32.

Drshadvati at Kurukṣetra, in a jealous bid to have the sight of Śiva. Śiva appeared to them in a dream and guided them to turn to the abode of Nīla in Kashmir. When they reached it they could only find the pieces of wood which they did not care for and threw them here and there. After some time, to their surprise, water gushed forth from these logs of wood. They all with the exception of one Gaurapārāśara, bathed in these waters and were changed bodily into the Rudras. Śiva appeared in a dream to Gaurapārāśara who had gone on hunger strike and asked the latter to beg a boon. The ṛṣi demanded of Śiva his permanent residence under the disguise (kapata) of logs of wood floating on the water near the abode of the Nāga so that people of Kalī could rid themselves of their sins at their sight. The boon was granted which resulted in the formation of the Tīrtha.[1] The fame of this tīrtha was widespread outside Kashmir as Kalhaṇa tells us that in the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) Bhoja the king of Mālava had a round tank (kuṇḍa) constructed around this sacred spring with heaps of gold that he despatched. The lord of Mālava is recorded to have taken a vow that he would ever wash his face with the water from the Tīrtha of Pāpasūdana and the fulfilment of the vow was made possible by Padmarāja, a supplier

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1127 seq.

of betel to King Ananta, who regularly sent jars of water from this spring to King Bhoja.[1] Sir Aurel Stein who visited this Tīrtha describes the then extant remains of the enclosure constructed by King Bhoja. According to him the sacred spring 'now rises in a circular tank of at least sixty yards in diameter, which is enclosed by a solid stone wall, and by steps leading down to the water ..... From the formation of the ground, it is evident that this tank has been formed by closing artificially the gulf in which the spring rises on the hillside'.[2] The story of Bhoja's daily washing lingered over the time as the tradition told to Stein by an old Sadhu named Mahādev Kaul, a resident at the spring, asserted that 'the tank and its stone enclosure were constructed by a Rājā from the Dekhan, called Mutsukund /Mucukunda/. This king was disfigured by horns which had grown on his head, and had in vain sought relief by visits to numerous sacred sites. When near Kapaṭeśvara he noticed that a wounded dog was healed by entering the water of the sacred spring. The king followed his example and got rid of his horns. Thereupon he testified his gratitude by the construction of the tank.'[3] Alberuni records

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[1] R.T., VII, 190-193.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.284.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.284.

what he gathered from the people of Kashmir that every year certain pieces of wood despatched by Mahādeva are visible 'in a pond called Kūdaishahr to the left of the source of the Vitastā in the middle of the month Vaiśākha'.[1] The time given for the miraculous phenomen coincides with that prescribed for the pilgrimage.[2] The tīrtha is one of the many sacred sites mentioned by Abul Fazl. He records that 'in the village of Kotihār is a deep spring surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases, an image of Mahādeva in sandal-wood appears'.[3] Despite very slight variation, the accounts of the Muslim writers agree with each other and with the ancient traditional phenomenon the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated.

The place chiefly associated with the worship of Śiva and Pārvatī is the Mount Karamukuṭa, forming the northern mountain range enclosing the Valley. The Haramukuṭa or Haramukh peaks which are encompassed by sizable glaciers, rise to about 17,000 feet and command the view to the north side from the great part of the Kashmir valley. The Nīlamatapurāṇa treats at length the legends relating the residence of Śiva on Mount Haramukuṭa.

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[1] Sachau, vol. II, p.183.

[2] Haracaritacintāmaṇi, XIV, 122.

[3] Āin-i Akbari, vol. II, p.358.

The lakes below the glaciers of these peaks form the most holy tīrthas of Kashmir and the whole group of these sacred sites bear the popular name of Nandikṣetra.

The lake which is fed by an eastern glacier of the Haramukuṭa peaks at an altitude of about 13,000 feet, is known as the Kālodaka or Nandisaras or Nundkōl and forms one of the stations on the way to the pilgrimage of the sacred Uttaragaṅgā or Uttaramānasa or Gaṅgā Lake, which being fed by another glacier lies a short distance above the Kālodaka Lake. The Kālodaka and the Uttaramānasa are also mentioned as sacred sites in the Anuśāsanparva,[1] Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra[2] and in the accounts of Lakṣmīdhara[3] and Vallālasena.[4]

According to the legend recorded in the Nīlamatapurāṇa, an issueless Brāhmaṇa named Śilāda propitiating Hara undertook a severe penance for one hundred years during which time he lived only on pebbles and stones. This melted the heart of Śiva who asked Nandin to become the son of Brāhmaṇa Śilāda. When Nandin showed his reluctance for this he was reminded of Bhṛgu's curse according to which he is to be born on earth. Looking at the unwillingness of Nandin to be born through a mother's womb,

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[1] Anuśāsanaparva, 26, 60.

[2] Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra, 85, 35.

[3] Tīrthavivechanakāṇḍa, p.248.

[4] Dānasāgara, p.37.

Śiva delivered him to Śilāda in a cleft of a stone when the Brāhmaṇa was breaking it. Happily the Brāhmaṇa picked up the son and brought him up. Śilāda summoned the astrologers and Brāhmaṇas to forecast the auspiciousness of his son's horoscope. But to his dismay he was told of the shortness of his son's life. He bewailed and wept. This aggrieved state of the Brāhmaṇa was unbearable for Nandin who in a bid to win long life for himself undertook a severe penance at Kālodaka. He stood in water for one hundred years observing *japa* of Rudra. This was enough to attract the attention of Śiva who on foot came from Benaras to Haramukuṭa. He granted long life to Nandin and settled himself at Haramukuṭa near him.[1] Sir Aurel Stein who made a visit to the site writes: 'The inner portion of the lake, showing a deep blue colour, is supposed to mark the residence of Kāla or Śiva; the outer portion of a light green colour that of Nandin.'[2] In the Kālodaka Śiva is worshipped under the name Nandin or Nandīśa[3] and hence the name Nandikṣetra or Nandīśakṣetra given to the site.

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[1] *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, 1031 seq.

[2] *R.T.* (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.8.

[3] *R.T.*, I, 113, 123 seq., 130, 150; II, 170.

We learn from Kalhaṇa that at Nandikṣetra Śiva was also worshipped under the name of Jyeṣṭheśa or Jyeṣṭheśvara or Jyeṣṭharudra. The passages of the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī tell us that under these names Śiva was worshipped somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nandīśa and Bhuteśvara.[1] Similarly in the Nandikṣetramāhātmya Śiva Jyeṣṭheśvara or Jyeṣṭhanātha is mentioned as being worshipped in the neighbourhood of Nandīśa and Bhūteśvara.[2] In the story of Śiva and Nandin already referred to,[3] Śiva Jyeṣṭheśa is mentioned as situated at the abode of Śiva Bhūteśvara.

In addition to the kṣetra of Nandin, Śiva Jyeṣṭheśa was also worshipped at Tripureśa or Tripureśvara.[4] The site has been located by Stein[5] in close proximity to the modern village of Triphar which lies 'in the valley opening to the East from North-East corner of the Dal, and at a distance of about three miles from the latter'. It was quite a popular place of pilgrimage and repose in Hindu times and Kalhaṇa records of King

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[1] R.T., I, 113, 151; IV, 190; VIII, 243.

[2] M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.22.

[3] Supra, pp. 423-424.

[4] R.T., V, 123.

[5] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.192.

Avantivarman's (A.D. 855/6-883) retirement near his death to this site of great sanctity.[1] Tripureśaśailaśikhara is mentioned in the colophon of the Daśāvatāracarita as a favourite place of resort of poet Kṣemendra. We can safely gauge from a brief incidental story referred to in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[2] that the holy site was a fancied settlement for the ascetics and the mendicants. In the time of the Lohara kings we hear of the foundation of Śiva temples, maṭhas and permanent endowments at this site.[3] The site maintained its sanctity even after the Hindu rule as King Zainūl-ābidīn is recorded to have founded here a perpetual endowment for the feeding of beggars (annasattra).[4] In Hindu times foundation of perpetual endowment (avicchinna-sattra, akṣayinī) by the kings and rich people were common in Kashmir.[5]

Śiva was also worshipped under the name of Jyeṣṭharudra and Jyeṣṭheśvara at the old Śrīnagarī[6] of Ashoka either on the

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[1] R.T., V, 123.

[2] R.T., VI, 135.

[3] R.T., VII, 151, 526, 956.

[4] Śrīvara, I, 402.

[5] R.T., I, 347; II, 58; VIII, 571.

[6] R.T., I, 124.

Gopa-hill (Gopādrī), i.e. modern Takht Hill, or in its close vicinity. Sir Aurel Stein searched the site in the tract to the south of the Dal Lake, marked by the village Jyeṭhēr in the east and the Takht hill in the west.[1]

Nandikṣetra included the famous Tīrtha of Śiva Bhūteś-vara[2] now called Buthiśēr, situated below Nundkōl in the valley of the Kanakavāhinī or Kānknaī stream which issues from the lakes of the Mount Haramukuṭa. 'The tradition recorded in the Nandikṣetra and Haramukuṭagaṅgā Māhātmyas, and still current among Kaśmīrians had located Śiva Bhuteśa's residence on the mountain spur which stretches south-east from the Hara-mūkh Peaks. This spur bears to the present day the name of Buthiśēr, i.e. Bhuteśvara.'[3] The Tīrtha of Bhuteśvara enjoyed much renown in ancient times and the Nīlamatapurāṇa records the legend about Śiva's making his abode there in the form of Bhūteśa, which is connected with Nandin referred to above.[4] The kings of Kashmir are known to have constructed maṭhas temples with generous endowments and made gifts and grants to Śiva

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.290.

[2] R.T., I, 107.

[3] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 20.

[4] Supra, pp. 423-424.

Bhūteśa.[1] The pilgrims also visited the temple of Bhairava and the 'Circle of the Mothers' (Matṛcakra) situated close to Bhuteśa.[2] Reference may be made here to the holy Tīrtha of Sodara[3] or Nārān Nag spring situated in the environs of Bhuteśvara. Kalhaṇa's knowledge of minutest detail of the topography of his land was fantastic and in the case of Sodara Tīrtha also his correctness is proved by a study of the Nīlamatapurāṇa which mentions the Sodara with regard to the Bhuteśvara and Kanakavāhinī and enjoins the pilgrims to offer ablutions in the Sodara when they are on a tīrthayātra to Bhuteśvara, Jyeṣṭheśa and Nandin.[4] Kalhaṇa leaves on record the legend regarding the reappearance of Sodara spring near Śrīnagarī (old Śrīnagar). According to it King Jalauka erected a shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrīnagarī but 'recognized that without the Sodara (spring) it could not rival Nandīśa'. One day when 'he had forgotten his daily observance in the distraction of business, and [accordingly] felt dismayed at not being able to take his bath in the waters of the far-off Sodara spring, he

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[1] R.T., I, 148, 347; IV, 189; V, 46; VIII, 356.

[2] R.T., V, 55-58.

[3] R.T., I, 123 seq.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1124.

noticed that from a waterless spot a spring was suddenly breaking forth, which was alike to Sodara in colour, taste, and other respects'.[1] Aurel Stein places this newly-formed Tīrtha, an incarnation of the original Sodara, at Bhuteśvara, at the village of Sudarabal on Dal Lake.[2]

This would be an appropriate place to record the sanctity of the Tīrtha of Cīramocana. The passages of the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī referring to this tīrtha reveal that the sacred site was located in the precincts of the Kanakavāhinī River.[3] An instructive passage[4] of the Rājataraṅgiṇī helps us to identify the Kanakavāhinī River with the one flowing past Bhūteśvara and fed by the waters of the lakes issuing from the glaciers of Mount Haramukuṭa. The name Cīramocana originates from the bark-clothes (cīraṇi) left there by the Seven Ṛṣīs before ascending to heaven.[5] The same legend is recorded in the Nandikṣetramāhātmya which also connects the Kanakavāhinī with the Tīrtha of Cīramocana.[6] M. A. Stein has shown that

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[1] R.T., I, 125-126.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.24.

[3] R.T., I, 149-150.

[4] R.T., VIII, 3356.

[5] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1327-29.

[6] Nandikṣetramāhātmya, 133 seq; quoted by M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.27, note.

the Kanakavāhinī River is known in the Haramukuṭagaṅgāmāhātmya as Karaṅkanadī or Karaṅkikā and the tīrtha as Karaṅka. He identifies the Karaṅkatīrtha with the Tīrtha of Cīramocana and places this holy site close by the village of Praṅg where a branch of the Kanakavāhinī River falls into the Sind.[1] This saṁgama is listed among the holiest saṁgamas of Kashmir.

The Tīrtha of the goddess Śāradā ranked among the reputed and holiest tīrthas of Kashmir. The sanctity of the tīrtha is mentioned in the Matsyapurāṇa.[2] But the tīrtha seems to have lost its former renown it enjoyed during the Hindu rule as M. A. Stein had to search for its location with great difficulty. He writes: 'The politically disturbed condition of the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley during the later Mughal and Paṭhān rule, has had much to do with the neglect into which the shrine of Śāradā had fallen..... Conditions improved but little during the Sikh rule, and even as late as 1846 Kaśmīr was raided as far as Śrīnagar by bands of the restless Bombas. It is evident that during this long period the pilgrimage to the distant shrine on the Kiṣangaṅgā could have no attractions for peaceful Brahmans of Kaśmīr. According to the traditions of the Gōtheṅg Purohitas it was only since the establishment of the Dogrā rule

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.27.

[2] Matsyapurāṇa, 22, 74.

and the suppression of the Bomba troubles that the route to Śardi became once more open for regular pilgrim-visits.'[1] His researches have traced the tīrtha, the ancient shrine of the goddess Śāradā, at the village of Śardi, in the Upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley.[2] Kalhaṇa's statement that by taking a visit to the shrine of the goddess Śāradā, 'one reaches at once the river Madhumatī and the river of Sarasvatī worshipped by poets',[3] gives the exact location of the tīrtha as we notice the temple of Śāradā as being situated on a hill, 'above the junction of the Kiṣangaṅgā River with a small stream known to this day as Madhumatī, which flows from the mountain range to the S.E. Almost opposite to Śardi a large stream, coming from the snowy range towards Cilās, meets the Kiṣangaṅgā from the N.'.[4] M. A. Stein gives a lengthy legendary account as contained in the Śāradāmāhātmya, of the origin of the tīrtha as also the religious merits acquired from its yātrā.[5] The tīrtha seems to have been fairly popular and widely known even outside

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.288.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.8; Vol. II, p.281.

[3] R.T., I, 37.

[4] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 8 note.

[5] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, pp. 280-281.

Kashmir. Kalhaṇa pays a glowing tribute to the heroism and patriotism of the followers of the king of Gauḍa, who entered Kashmir under the pretext of visiting the Tīrtha of Śāradā but in fact to avenge the death of their lord at the hands of King Lalitāditya Mukhtapīḍa.[1] The goddess receives a fairly respectful treatment from the pens of the Kashmirian writers,[2] who describe their land as beloved by Sarasvatī-Śāradā. Bilhaṇa proudly ascribes the gift of learning to his native land to the favour of goddess Śāradā. The goddess is described 'to resemble a swan, carrying as her diadem the glittering gold washed from the sand of the Madhumatī stream which is bent on rivalling Gaṅgā. Spreading lustre by her fame, brilliant like crystal, she makes even Mount Himālaya, the preceptor of Gaurī, raise higher his head /his peaks/ in pride of her residence there.'[3] The fame of the tīrtha reached the ears of Alberuni who includes it in his description of the famous idols of the Hindus. He writes that 'in inner Kashmīr, about two or three days journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Śāradā, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims'.[4] That the

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[1] R.T., IV, 325 seq.

[2] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 5. Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, III, 10. Fourth Chronicle, 407.

[3] Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 5.

[4] Sachau, Vol. I, p.117.

tīrtha continued to earn much esteem during the centuries following the Hindu rule becomes evident from the account of Abul Fazl who records: 'At two days' distance from Haehāmun is the river named Padmati which flows from the Dardu country. Gold is also found in this river. On its bank is a stone temple called Śāradā dedicated to Durgā, and regarded with great veneration. On every eighth tithi of Shuklapachch, it begins to shake and produces the most extraordinary effect.'[1] Earlier Jonarāja records a visit which the Sultān Zain-ul-ābidīn (A.D.1420-1470) paid to the shrine and the miraculous manifestations of the goddess mentinned by him are the shaking of the arm, the appearance of sweat on her face and the feelings of heat on a mere touch of the feet.[2]

Difficulties involved in the yātra to the distant tīrtha of Śāradā on the Kiṣangaṅgā coupled with the political vicissitudes during the past centuries have led to the emergence of substitute tīrthas for the Tīrtha of the goddess Śāradā. 'The best known and most popular among these,' writes Sir Aurel Stein, 'is the spring called Śāradākuṇḍa, at the village of Tsatsa, close to Harwan, and about one and a half miles from the north-east corner of the Dal lake. Owing to the place being so near

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[1] Āin-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.365.

[2] Jonarāja (Bombay Edition), 1056-1071.

to the city and easily approached by boats large crowds of pilgrims assemble from Śrīnagar to pay their devotion to Śāradā thus brought within convenient reach. The spring is visited exactly on the day prescribed for the real Śāradā pilgrimage, and only in the years when the yātra to the Gaṅgā-lakes on the Haramukuṭa does not take place.'[1] Another substitute tīrtha is noticed by M. A. Stein in the vicinity of the ancient Śāradātīrtha. He writes: 'Immediately adjoining the grove at Guṣ, known as Rangavōr, is a small walled enclosure in which a few fragments of ancient relievo images are kept. This place is locally considered a shrine of Śāradā, and is visited, instead of the Śardi temple, on occasion of the Śāradāyātra, by Brahmans of the neighbourhood who are anxious to pay respect to the goddess and are yet unwilling to face the hardships of the real pilgrimage.'[2]

In ancient times the Tīrtha of Bheḍā was counted among the chief tīrthas of Kashmir. The tīrtha is also referred to as a site of great sanctity in the Vanaparvan,[3] the Purāṇas[4]

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.288.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Vanaparvan, 84, 65.

[4] Matsyapurāṇa, 22, 25; Padmapurāṇa, I, 32, 39. Agnipurāṇa, 109, 18.

and the Śārṅgadharapaddhati.[1] Introducing his land Kalhaṇa writes: 'There the goddess Sarasvatī herself is seen in the form of a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the Bheḍa-hill [Bheḍagiri] which is sanctified by the Gaṅgā-source [Gaṅgodbheda].'[2] The discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein[3] trace the tīrtha at the present Buḍabrār in Śukru pargaṇa in the valley of the Birnai stream. He mentions a long legend referred to in the Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya about the creation of the Tīrtha as a result of long penance performed by the Ṛṣi Pulastya. The goddess Sarasvatī receives worship on the 8th, 9th, 14th and 15th of the bright half of Caitra.[4] The Nīlamatapurāṇa[5] makes a passing reference to the Tīrtha of Bheḍadevī. It describes the Ṛṣi Pulastya as being its creator and attaches great importance to its tīrthayātrā. The Tīrtha also finds an important place in the account of Abul Fazl. He writes: 'Near Shukroh is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage

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[1] Śārṅgadharapaddhati, 628.

[2] R.T., I, 35.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, pp. 472-473.

[4] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, pp. 273 seq.

[5] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1010, 1309.
Gaṅgobhede naraḥ snātvā Bheḍādevīsamīpataḥ 1
Gaṅgāsnānaphalaṃ prāpya svargaloke mahīyate 11 1309

for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur.'[1] It is interesting to find that the Māhātmya of the Tīrtha also mentions that snow does not fall near the neighbouring shrine of Govardhanadhara Viṣṇu for a distance of 125 hastas.[2]

The Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī attach great sanctity to the Tīrtha of goddess Saṁdhyā.[3] Sir Aurel Stein has traced the sacred spring of the goddess Saṁdhayā - the modern Suṇdabrār, in the Bring district in Maḍavarāja.[4] Kalhaṇa proudly writes that in his country 'the goddess Saṁhyā produces on an arid hill side water which serves as an indication of the presence of merit and the absence of sin'.[5] It seems that Kalhaṇa makes an illusion here that the miracle does not take place if some sinful person visits the spring, a belief which has been referred to in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi.[6] M. A. Stein writes: 'The spring of Saṁdhyā derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times during the night. Owing

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[1] Āin-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.362.

[2] Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya, verse 99 quoted by M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.274.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1252, 1286, 1287.

[4] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.469.

[5] R.T., I, 33.

[6] Haracaritacintāmaṇi, IV, 50.

to the analogy thus presented to the threefold recitation of the Gāyatrī (Sāṁdhyā) it is held sacred to the goddess Sāṁdhyā. At the season indicated it is visited by a considerable concourse of pilgrims.'[1]

The Tīrtha of Svayaṁbhū, another wonder of the land of Kashmir has been mentioned in the Kashmirian texts.[2] Kalhaṇa writes that in his land 'the self-created fire [Svayaṁbhū], rising from the womb of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers'.[3] The sacred site of Svayaṁbhū or modern Suyam is situated in the Machipūr Pargaṇa of Kramarājya. Undoubtedly, the Tīrtha owing to the volcanic phenomenon must have been very popular. King Uccala (.A.D. 1101-1111) undertook a pilgrimage to the sacred site.[4] Abul Fazl knew about the phenomenon and writes: 'Near Kargon is a defile called Soyam where an area of ten jarībs of land becomes so hot at the time of the conjunction of Jupiter and Leo that trees are burnt up and a vessel of water if left on the ground will boil.'[5] The phenomenon is said to have occurred

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.469.

[2] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1021, 1160.

[3] R.T., I, 34.

[4] R.T., VIII, 250.

[5] Āīn-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.365.

all along the centuries. Vigne[1] records one to have occurred at the beginning of the 19th century. Pandit Govind Kaul a learned Brāhmaṇa from Kashmir who helped M. A. Stein in his researches tells the latter about his pilgrimage to the site of Svayambhū in 1876 'when the symptoms were noticeable for about ten months'.[2] At the time of his own visit which he says to have made in September, 1892, 'the phenomenon was said not to have taken place for the last fifteen years. But the soil of the hollow appeared even then bright red, like burned clay, and was furrowed by narrow fissures'.[3]

The Tīrtha of Amareśvara or Amaranāth has attained much renown and celebrity in modern times and is visited by thousands of people from all parts of India. The passing references[4] made to this Tīrtha both in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājatarangiṇī suggest that it did not carry with it much popularity in ancient times perhaps due to the hardships attached to the pilgrimage. Śiva Amareśvara is worshipped as a self-created (Svayambhū) Liṅga in a block of ice formed by the freezing of the water,

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[1] Travels, Vol. II, p.280.

[2] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 7 note.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 7 note.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1321. R.T., I, 267.

in a cave situated on a snowy peak 17,300 feet high. Omkāra at Amareśvara is one of the twelve Jyotirliṅgas mentioned in the Śivapurāṇa.[1] Jonarāja informs us that Sultān Zainu-l-'ābidīn undertook a pilgrimage to the Tīrtha of Amareśvara.[2] The modern writers[3] have given a happy account of this Tīrtha which has gained fame with the time. We may mention here the legend recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī according to which the Suśramanāga after destroying the town of Narapura moved his habitation from there to a lake of dazzling whiteness which he created for himself on a far-off mountain. Suśramanāga along with Jāmātṛnāga 'his son-in-law' who was situated near him, was visited by thepilgrims bound for the Amareśvara Tīrtha.[4]

The Kashmirians paid exceptional reverence to the Saṁgamas of the rivers and the most important Saṁgama Tīrthas were the Vitastāsiṅdhusaṁgama, Śāradā[5] (Madhumatī stream and Kṛṣṇagaṅgā river), Cīramocana[6] (Kanakavāhinī and Kṛṣṇagaṅgā) and the

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[1] Śivapurāṇa, I, 14-33; IV, 1-18, 21-24.

[2] Jonarāja (Bombay Edition), 1233 seq.

[3] Vigne, Travels, vol. II, pp. 10 seq.

[4] Bates, Gazetteer, pp. 121 seq.

[5] Supra, pp. 430-434.

[6] Supra, pp. 429-430

Saṁgama of Vitastā and Mahāsarit stream (Mārisaṁgama).

The Kashmirian literature[1] mentions the Vitastā and the Sindhu as the most sacred rivers of Kashmir. The holiness of the rivers is also echoed by non-Kashmirian writers like Lakṣmīdhara[2] and Vallālasena.[3] The former quoting the Anuśāsanaparvan says that by having a bath in Śatadru, Chandrabhāga, Vitastā and Ormimālinī one becomes like a sage. And by bathing or worshipping the River Sindhu and the great rivers that receive the smaller rivers of Kashmir, one can go to heaven. The well-known legend narrated in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and reproduced in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi, represents the river Vitastā as a manifestation of Pārvatī. After the creation of the land of Kashmir, Kaśyapa requested Śiva that he should ask his consort to appear in the land as a river to purify its inhabitants who were said to have been defiled by contact with the Piśācas. Thereupon Pārvatī appeared in the form of a river in the underworld and asked Śiva to make an opening for her, which the latter did by striking the earth with his trident near the abode of Nīlanāga. The river gushed forth through this

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[1] R.T., I, 28, 51; IV, 321, 391; V, 97 seq; VIII, 1129. Jonarāja, 982; Śrīvara, IV, 110, 227. Haracaritacintāmaṇi, XII, 2-34.

[2] Tīrthavivechanakāṇḍa, p.245.

[3] Dānasāgara, p.37.

cleavage which measured one Vitasti or span and thus received the name Vitastā.[1] Other Purāṇas and the Vanaparvan also refer to the sanctity of the river Vitastā.[2]

In the Nīlamatapurāṇa[3] the Vitastā and the Sindhu are identified with the Yamunā and Gaṅgā respectively and the Prayāga as the saṁgama of the two is known as, has since ancient times enjoyed tremendous reputation as a place of pilgrimage. The Rājataraṅgiṇī attaches great sanctity to the Vitastāsindhu-saṁgama and we learn from Kalhaṇa that many kings of Kashmir constructed maṭhas and temples by its side.[4] The poet Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, recognises this sacred confluence as a place loved by Śiva.[5] In the Rājataraṅgiṇī, we read about the transfer of the original saṁgama at Trigrāmī or Trigrām to Shādipūr carried out by Suyya the engineer minister of King Avantivarman (A.D.855/56-883) and all the references with regard to the erection of maṭhas and temples at the saṁgama relate to this transfer.[6] Stein who visited the saṁgama observes:

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1446ff.
Haracaritacintamani, XII, 2-34.

[2] Kūrmapurāṇa, II, 44; Vāmanapurāṇa, 90, 7; Vanaparva, 82, 88-90.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 295-296.
Gaṅgā Sindhus tu vijñeyā Vitastā Yamunā tatha
sa prayāgasamo deśas tayor yātra tu saṁgamaḥ

[4] R.T., VI, 305; VII, 214, 909, 1595; VIII, 506, 3149.

[5] Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, III, 20.

[6] R.T., V, 97-100.

'A small island built of solid masonry rises in the river bed at the point where the waters of the two rivers mingle. It is the object of regular pilgrimages on particular parvans throughout the year. On it stands an old cinār tree which to the pious Kaśmīrian represents the far-famed Ficus Indica tree of the real Prayāga.'[1] We have referred to certain festive days when a pilgrimage to this saṁgama brought special merits and rewards.[2]

The shrines of Viṣṇu-Cakradhara and Śiva-Vijayeśa or Vijayeśvara, situated less than two miles distant from each other, are counted among the oldest places of sanctity and the tīrthas of great fame. Śiva Vijayeśa or Vijayeśvara gives its name to the town in which it was situated, Vijayeśvara the modern Vijabrōr and the shrine of Viṣṇu-Cakradhara lies on the alluvial plateau now called Tsakadar, more than a mile below the town of Vijabrōr. The holiness of these Tīrthas is echoed in the Kashmirian texts.[3] That the shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara and Viṣṇu Cakradhara are of great antiquity becomes evident from

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.419.

[2] Supra, p. 403.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1056, 1303, 900, 1149.
R.T., I, 38; VII, 258, 261, 269.
Śrikaṇṭhacarita, III, 12; Ch. X.
Jonaraja (Bombay Edition), 162, 763.

the legend recorded by Kalhaṇa. King Aśoka is credited with the replacement of old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara, by one of stone. He also 'erected within the enclosure of Vijayeśa, and near it, two temples which were called Aśokeśvara'.[1] The shrine of Cakradhara is mentioned in connection with the foundation and destruction of Narapura.[2] Both the shrines were scenes of military operations and fire to which both were subjected at different periods of Kashmir history.[3] Both the shrines appear to have undergone restorations but not very long after were destroyed by Sikander Būtshikast.[4]

Kashmir boasts of another site of exceptional sanctity in the Tīrtha of sun-god Mārtāṇḍa which enjoyed a position of esteem in the list of the holy sites and is mentioned in the Nīlamatapurāṇa among the sites sacred to Sūrya.[5] The Tīrtha of Mārtāṇḍa is marked by holy springs lying about a mile to the north-west of the temple of Mārtāṇḍa built by the liberal king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[6] M.A.Stein mentions the legend contained

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[1] R.T., I, 105-106.

[2] R.T., I, 203. seq.

[3] R.T., VII, 336 seq; VIII, 746 seq; 969 seq., 971-995, 509 seq., 1140.

[4] Jonarāja (Bombay Edition), 762, 763.

[5] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1017.

[6] R.T., IV, 192.

in the Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya which 'connects the springs with the story of the production of the Sun from the lifeless egg /mṛtāṇḍa/, which Aditi the wife of Kaśyapa, had brought forth as her thirteenth child'.[1] The site containing the tīrtha and the shrine of Mārtāṇḍa is now known to the Kashmirians as Matan (from Mārtāṇḍa), earlier mentioned by Abul Fazl who writes: 'Matan stands upon a hill and once possessed a large temple. There is a small pool on the summit, the water of which never decreases..... On the slope of the hill is a spring at the head of which a reservoir has been constructed, full of fish. The sanctity of the place preserves them from being touched.'[2] The tīrtha is popularly known as Bavan which is derived from bhavana (sacred habitation). Another designation of the tīrtha is Matsyabavan, Sanskrit Matsyabhavana, which Stein ascribes to 'the abundance of sacred fish which swarm in the large basins filled by the spring'.[3]

The worship of the Sun god seems to have been quite popular in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's reference to the temple of Mārtāṇḍa which King Raṇāditya built at Simharotsika under the name of Raṇapura-

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[1] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.141.

[2] Āin-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.358.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.466.

svāmin,[1] suggest that the worship of Viṣṇu-Sūrya was prevalent in Kashmir before the eighth century A.D. Sūrya continued to be an important deity in the following centuries becomes evident from the pages of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. King Sūravarman II (A.D. 939) was a devotee of Sūrya.[2] Kalhaṇa informs us that as a result of a sudden change for the worse in his character, King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) destroyed the bronze image of Sūrya called Tāmrasvāmin. Kalaśa fell ill and thinking that the god Sūrya got angered by his destruction of the image of Tāmrasvāmin, started to take refuge at the temple to save his life and offered there a gold image of the god. Finally he breathed his last at the feet of the image of Mārtaṇḍa.[3] Sūrya also received special regards from King Harṣa (A.D. 1089 - 1101) and the temple of Mārtaṇḍa was among the two Hindu temples (the other being that of Raṇasvāmin) that escaped from being desecrated.[4] The temple of Mārtaṇḍa was a scene of battle and was used as a fortified position in the time of King Jayasiṁha

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[1] R.T., III, 462.

[2] R.T., V, 449.

[3] R.T., VII, 695 seq.

[4] R.T., VII, 1096.

(A.D. 1128-1149).[1] The temple of Mārtāṇḍa could not escape the iconoclasm of Sikander.[2]

Situated some five miles from Śrīnagar on the eastern shore of the Dal lake, are the holy sites of Thedā or modern Thid and Bhīmādevī or modern Brān where King Saṁdhimat erected maṭhas, statues of gods and liṅgas.[3] Thedā claimed holiness for the seven springs which are connected, by a legend narrated in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi,[4] with the austerities undergone by Pārvatī at the Tīrtha of Bhīmādevī. Abul Fazl[5] refers to these springs. The kṣetra of Bhīmādevī or modern Brān is about one and a half miles further north along the Dal lake shore and gives its name to a group of villages (Krūr, Dāmpōr etc.). The Tīrtha of Bhīmādevī is located 'at the five springs issuing from the hill side near the hamlet of Dāmpōr'.[6]

Continuing about two miles further north on the Dal lake we reach the site of enormous sanctity known as Sureśvarīkṣetra. In the Nīlamatapurāṇa[7] the Sureśvarī Tīrtha is mentioned along

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[1] R.T., VIII, 3281 seq.

[2] Jonarāja, 599.

[3] R.T., II, 135.

[4] Haracaritacintāmaṇi, IV, 40 seq.

[5] Āin-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.361.

[6] M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.68.

[7] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1013, 1318.

with the Tīrtha of Bhīmādevī. The site of Sureśvarī is marked by the present village of Iśabar which is a derivation of Īśeśvara temple which the legendary king Saṁdhimat-Āryarāja built in honour of his teacher Īśāna.[1] Kalhaṇa informs us that Sūra, the minister of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) erected a temple at Sureśvarīkṣetra, in honour of Śiva and his consort conjoined (Śivayor miśrayos).[2] Sūra's son Ratnavardhana and wife Kāvyadevī built at Sureśvarī the temples of Śiva Bhūteśvara and Sadāśiva called Kāvyadevīśvara respectively.[3] Sir Aurel Stein refers to the legend narratedin the Sureśvarī-māhātmya which links the habitation at this place of the goddess and her consort with the killing of the demon Ruru.[4] He writes: 'Durgā is worshipped to this day under the name of Sureśvarī (queen of the gods) on a high crag rising above the village of Iśabar from the range which encloses the Dal lake on the E. A natural rock on the top of the crag is looked upon as representation of Durgā's husband.'[5] The pilgrim to the Tīrtha concentrates on several holy springs at the site, Śatadhāra

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[1] R.T., II, 134.

[2] R.T., V, 37.

[3] R.T., V, 40-41.

[4] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.190 note.

[5] Ibid.

is one of them mentioned by Kṣemendra.[1] The Tīrtha of Sureśvarī which is mentioned by Jonarāja[2] and Śrīvara[3] as well, was too sacred to be sought by the devotees to die in.[4] The temple of Śiva and Pārvatī in communion (Śivayoḥ Samavetayoḥ) erected by Śūra maintained its sanctity and Kalhaṇa credits Rilhaṇa, the minister of King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-49) with the putting up of the gilt parasol along with small bells on this temple.[5]

The Kashmirian literature[6] echoes the sanctity of Varāha-kṣetra where Viṣṇu was worshipped in his incarnation of Adi-Varāha. The site of Viṣṇu Adi-Varāha Tīrtha is marked by the town of Varāhamula, Vārāhamūla or modern Bāramula, situated on the right bank of the River Vitastā above the gorge through which the holy river leaves the Valley. Professor Buhler[7] records from the Varāhamāhātmya, an abstract of the legend relating to the origin of the Tīrtha and its adjoining sacred places. 'First it says Viṣṇu assumed the form of a boar to slay the Daitya Hiraṇyāksha, and raised the earth with his tusks. Next, the

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, II, 29.

[2] Jonarāja, 52, 874.

[3] Śrīvara, I, 419, 426.

[4] R.T., VI, 147; VIII, 2344, 2418.

[5] R.T., VIII, 3365.

[6] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1358; R.T., VII, 204. Śrīvara, I, 403. Fourth Chronicle, 520. Haracaritacintāmaṇi, XII, 43.

[7] Report, p.12.

mountains being "burnt" by ice and snow, praised the god and sought his protection. Thereupon Vishṇu created the Himālaya, and put all the ice on that. Then he fashioned in the flanks of that mountain, by Rudra's command, the Varāhakshetra, and dwelt there in his boar-shape. In the field of Varāha flows the Vitastā, originally produced from the tears of joy shed by the immortals; there dwell Śaṁkara, Nārāyaṇa, and Viśvakarma; there are the river called Vishṇupadī, which flows for one month only, the Varāha hill, the Koṭitīrtha, and the Aurṇāshrama.' The town of Varāhamūla has often been mentioned in the texts and the shrine of Varāha appears to have been counted among the famous shrines of Kashmir in ancient period.[1] The temple of Varāha was among the shrines destroyed by Sultān Sikander.[2] A perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that the neighbouring town of Huṣkapura, situated opposite Varāhamūla on the other side of the river Vitastā fell within the jurisdiction of Varāhakṣetra. King Kṣemagupta is recorded to have constructed two maṭhas called Kṣemamaṭha and Śrīkaṇṭhamaṭha at Varāhakṣetra close to the town of Huṣkapura, the modern Uṣkar. This king retired to the holy site of Varāhakṣetra to breathe his last.[3]

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[1] R.T., VI, 206; VII, 1309, 1310; VIII, 452. Fourth Chronicle, 77.

[2] Jonarāja, 600.

[3] R.T., VI, 186.

Earlier King Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa got constructed at Huṣkapura, the shrine of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin and a Buddhist Vihāra with a Stūpa.[1] In addition to their holiness, these towns occupied a very important position at the Western entrance of the Valley and their formation as the starting point of the great route of communication to the West accounts for their commercial value. Huien Tsang refers to this 'Western entrance of the kingdom' through which he entered Kashmir and spent his first night in a convent at Huṣkapura.[2] Alberuni[3] was also conscious of their importance. Varāhamūla or Bāramūla still retains its old popularity but the town of Huṣkapura has gone into oblivion.

On the site of the village of Śarīṭaka, the abode of the goddess Śarikā, which according to the legend recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, represents the auspicious place shown by the demon to King Pravarasena II for the foundation of his new town, was built Pravarapura or modern Śrīnagar.[4] Śarikāparvata or modern Haraparvat which lies in the city of Śrīnagar immediately

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[1] R.T., IV,188.

[2] Life, p.69.

[3] India, Vol. I, p.207.

[4] R.T., III, 336 seq.

to the north of its central part, took its name from the goddess Śārikā and was visited in great numbers by the pilgrims. Śārikāparvata has been mentioned by the later Chronicles also.[1] It has also been named as the hill of Pradyumna (Pradyumna-mūrdhan, pītha, giri, Śikhara).[2] Sir Aurel Stein records an abstract of the legend told in the Śārikāmāhātmya which 'relates that Durgā, taking the shape of a Śārikā bird /Maina/, carried in her beak the hill from Mount Meru to its present place in order to close a gate of the Daityas dwelling in hell. Subsequently she took up her abode on the hill to make sure of their not escaping.'[3] In the Kathāsaritsāgara the origin of the name Pradyumna is connected with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna.[4] King Pravarasena II is described as the worshipper of Gaṇeśa and it was as Kalhaṇa informs us, due to his pious devotion that the image of Vināyaka called Bhīmasvāmin turned its face from west to east to tell that he was not averse to the city (Pravarapura i.e. Śrīnagar) founded by him.[5] Gaṇeśa worship has also been referred to by

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[1] Jonarāja, 408; Fourth Chronicle, 944.

[2] R.T., III, 460; VII, 1616; Jonarāja, 870. Śrīvara, II, 88. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 15.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, pp. 101-102.

[4] Kathāsaritasāgara, XXIII, 109 seq.

[5] R.T., III, 352.

Kṣemendra who informs us that the sweets offered to the deity were resold at Avantipura.[1] The site of Avantipura has yielded some terracotta plaques containing the figure of elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, which also points to the popularity of Vināyaka in the Valley of Kashmir.[2] M. A. Stein noticed the god Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka) being worshipped 'under the name of Bhīmasvāmigaṇeśa in a rock lying at the foot of the southern extremity of the Haraparvat (Śārikāparvata)'.[3] It is interesting to find Jonarāja recording that the god Bhīmasvāmin, being shocked at the iconoclasm of Sultān Sikander turned his back on the city.[4] His continuator Śrīvara refers to the construction of a new temple of Bhīmasvāmigaṇeśa under the patronage of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidīn.[5] When Stein visited the rock sacred to Vināyaka, he found it so thickly stained with red paint that it was impossible for him to notice 'any resemblance to the head of the elephant-faced God, still less to see whether it is turned West or East'.[6] Undoubtedly these

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[1] Samayamātṛkā, II, 77.

[2] Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1913-14, p.53.

[3] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.103.

[4] Jonarāja (Bombay Edition), 766.

[5] Śrīvara, III, 207.

[6] R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.103 note.

Svayambhū Tīrthas at Śārikāparvata must have been frequented in great number.

We have referred to the legend recorded in the Nīlamata-purāṇa and the Rājataraṅgiṇī about the desiccationof the lake of Satī (Satīsaras) and the consequent creation of the land of Kashmir. We are told that the gods Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu and their team mates took their residence on the Peaks of the Naubandhana Tīrtha in the successful endeavour to kill the demon Jalodbhava. These three peaks are on the Pīr Pantsāl Range and the highest of these is said to form the Naubandhana Tīrtha. The lake Kramasaras or Kramasara[1] or modern Kōnsarnāg which lies at the foot of this peak is supposed to mark a foot-step (krama) of Viṣṇu and is the object of Naubandhana Tīrtha. Śrīvara[2] records a visit which Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidīn paid to this Tīrtha. According to the legend[3] attached to this Tīrtha Viṣṇu on his fish incarnation fastened to this peak the ship (nau) into which goddess Durgā had changed herself in order to rescue the seeds of the beings from the danger of destruction.

The texts[4] refer to the sanctity of Somatīrtha. The Tīrtha seems to have been popular as Kalhaṇa credits King Jayasiṁha's

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 123, 176, 180.

[2] Śrīvara, I, 482 seq.

[3] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 39 seq.

[4] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1351, 111. R.T., VIII, 3360.

minister Rilhaṇa's brother Sumanas with the adornment of its surroundings by bringing there water and laying out a garden. Stein finds its application to a sacred spot in Śrīnagar on the right bank of the Vitastā below the second bridge. The Tīrtha was frequented in his time and he found some liṅgas on the site.

The Kashmirian Purāṇa[1] refers to the sanctity of Bahurūpa Tīrtha which has been identified by Stein with the district of Bīru. The fine spring which is situated at the village of Bīru was the object of pilgrimage of this Tīrtha.

All these Tīrthas and scores of others with which the Valley of Kashmir was pervaded, were not enough to quench the thirst of the Kashmirians and their visit to holy sites outside Kashmir accounts for their craze for tīrthayātra and its great importance in their lives. King Mātṛgupta after his abdication of the throne of Kashmir became a yati and retired to the holy Vārāṇasī in the hope of finding happiness in quietism.[2] In order to patch up his differences with his son Harṣa who had gone on rebellion King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) tells his son that he would hand over the country to him and retire as an ascetic either to Vārāṇasī or Nandikṣetra.[3] This speaks of the sanctity of the

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[1] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1159, 1337.

[2] R.T., III, 297, 320.

[3] R.T., VII, 646.

Nandikṣetra which was considered as holy as Vārāṇasī. We learn that Kandarpa, the Lord of the Gate under King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), after getting dissatisfied with the king retired along with his family to Vārāṇasī.[1] Kanaka, the uncle of Kalhaṇa, after the death of his patron Harṣa, is said to have retired to Vārāṇasī and spent his days in pious resignation.[2] Pilgrimages undertaken to the holy Tīrtha of Kurukṣetra are also referred to in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[3]

With the material at our disposal it is difficult to judge whether the pilgrimage tax was levied in the Valley. In the time of King Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972) Ēramantaka is credited with freeing the Kashmirians from certain tax which the pilgrims had to pay while performing Śrāddhas at the Tīrtha of Gayā near Shādipūr.[4] The tax seems to have been reimposed as we again hear of its exemption for the Kashmirians in the reign of Harṣa.[5] It follows from these passages, where there is a special mention of Kashmirians only being freed, that the foreigners from across the frontier of Kashmir continued to pay this

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[1] R.T., VII, 1007, 1010.

[2] R.T., VIII, 12 seq.

[3] R.T., VIII, 540, 2220.

[4] R.T., VI, 254-255.

[5] R.T., VII, 1008.

Śrāddha tax at the Tīrtha of Gayā. Otherwise the literature is silent on this subject and it appears that unlike other parts of India, in general there was no pilgrimage tax in Kashmir. Had there been such a tax, Kalhaṇa who has taken great pains to record the holiness of his land, would have referred to it. It is likely that Gayā earned exceptional holiness for performing Śrāddhas and its overwhelming busyness tempted some Kashmirian Kings to levy a tax.

It can reasonably be said that the Kashmirians were more devoted to tīrthayātra than their brethren in India proper. Pilgrimages formed an essential part of their lives. No part of India with the size of the Valley of Kashmir is better equipped with holy sites. In fact the whole land of Kashmir is claimed as holy. It is encircled by high mountains where the gods reside. Numerous rivers and streams, big and small, flow throughout the Valley, which are considered manifestations of different goddesses. It is dotted with innumerable springs and lakes which have their tutelary deities in Nāgas. And above all the Valley is endowed with numerous Svayambhū Tīrthas showing some sort of miracle. And all this within easy reach. The tīrthas could be covered within hours. No doubt in the case of certain tīrthas situated on the high mountains, the Kashmirians had to undertake difficult journeys but we should not forget they are known as good walkers. If desired a pilgrim could cover dozens

of tīrthas in hours even in those days when means of communication were not so fast.

Another special feature of the Kashmir Valley was that it contained Tīrthas of all sorts. There were Nāga Tīrthas, there were Tīrthas sacred to Kaśyapa the Prajāpati, there could be found Tīrthas of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu in their various forms, there could be traced Tīrthas of Nandin, Vināyaka, Kumāra and Sūrya and there could be visited Tīrthas of Durgā in her various forms of Sarasvatī Śāradā, Śārikā, Sureśvarī, Kāli etc. In the rocks could be found mystic symbols of various gods and goddesses. In fact the Valley is gifted with such a great variety of Tīrthas that it meets the demands not of Kashmirians but worshippers from all parts of India.

The foregoing account of festivals and tīrthas in Kashmir has presented us with a fairly good picture of different gods and goddesses worshipped in the Valley. A further insight into the pages of the Kashmirian literature helps us to reconstruct the existence of different faiths and trace their brief history. The accounts of foreign writers and the archaeological findings, particularly from the sites of Avantipura, Parihāsapura, Huṣkapura, Hārwan etc., corroborate the data we glean from literary sources.

Looking back to the legends referring to the creation of the land of Kashmir, its settlement and various holy sites, we get reliable indications that before the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir the Kashmirians worshipped the Nāgas and the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in some form. The Rājataraṅgiṇī comes to our aid in making a survey of the history of these religions right up to the time of its author i.e. middle of the 12th century A.D. We notice that all through the centuries the three principal religions, i.e. Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism continued to be practised with utmost tolerance though after the 8th century A.D. we notice a turn in the tide with Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism going great guns and Buddhism losing old fire. It would be wrong to conclude that Buddhism disappeared from the Valley after the 9th century A.D. though we see that Śaivism was the principal religion of Kashmir with Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism as second and third favourite respectively but the gap between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism appears to have been rather narrow. These were followed by minor gods and goddesses like the Sūrya, Vināyaka, Kumāra, Agni, Vāyu, Kāmadeva, Śrī, Durgā etc. etc.

Much has been said in previous pages about the Nāgas, i.e. their settlement, their worship and propitiation as tutelary deities with Nīlanāga as their head, belief in their supernatural powers, various festivals connected with their worship, many pilgrimages directed to them as also legendary stories re-

corded by Kalhaṇa about the most popular Nāgas like Nīla, Mahāpadma, Suśrava, and Takṣaka. The Chinese, Tibetans, Ceylonese and the Muslim sources point to the prevalence of Nāga worship in Kashmir.[1]

The introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir is generally regarded to have taken place in the time of Aśoka. But Kalhaṇa points to its early introduction. He credits King Surendra with the foundation of a town called Soraka in the neighbourhood of the Dard country as also a vihāra called Narendrabhavana.[2] The construction of a vihāra is also attributed to King Janaka.[3]

The lion's share of King Aśoka and the Kuṣana Kings in the promulgation of Buddhism in Kashmir is well known to the students of history. The fresh impetus drawn by Buddhism during the Karkoṭa dynasty deserves special attention. The period from Aśoka to the 8th century may be regarded as the heyday of Buddhism in Kashmir. We learn from Kalhaṇa that during this period there was a boom in the construction of Vihāras and Stūpas which boosted the popularity of Buddhism. Aśoka is recorded to have embellished

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[1] Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, pp. 148 seq.
Mahāvaṁsa, XIII, 3.
History of Buddhism by Bu-ston (tr. E. Obermiller), Vol. II, p.90.
Āin-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.356.

[2] R.T., I, 93.

[3] R.T., I, 98.

Śuṣkaletra and Vitastātra with many stūpas.[1] Also at Vitastātra he built a Caitya within the precincts of the Dharmāraṇya Vihāra.[2] His son Jalauka, a devout worshipper of Śiva, is recorded to have built, according to the legend narrated by Kalhaṇa, the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra.[3] This vihāra meaning the abode of the witch (kṛtya) gives its name to the present village of Kitsahom situated about five miles below Varāhamula near the left bank of the Vitastā. Kalhaṇa records that three Kuṣana Kings namely Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka who ruled Kashmir built three towns after their names - i.e. Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura, as also some Caityas and Vihāras.[4] At this period Buddhism was at its prime in Kashmir as Kalhaṇa writes: 'During the powerful reign of these kings the land of Kaśmīr was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by practising the law of religious mendicancy (pravrajyā) had acquired

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[1] R.T., I, 102. Śuṣkaletra and Vitastātra have been identified with modern villages of Hukhalitar and Vithavutur in the Parganas of Dūnts and Shāhabad respectively - Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.19.

[2] R.T., I, 103.

[3] R.T., I, 140-147.

[4] R.T., I, 168-170. M.A.Stein agrees with G. Cunningham's identification of Huṣkapura with kodern Uṣkur situated about two miles south-east of Varāhamula and Juṣkapura with modern Zukur a village situated to the north of Śrīnagar at a distance of about four miles from Haraparvata. He rejects Cunningham's identification of Kaniṣkapura with Kāmpur and identifies the latter with Kāneṣpur 'situated between the Vitastā and the high road leading from Varāhamula to Śrīnagar' - M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.30 note.

great renown'.[1] It is well known that Kashmir was chosen as the venue for a Buddhist Council of the Sarvāstivādins which speaks for its popularity in the Buddhist world. Kalhaṇa proudly records that at this time there lived in Kashmir the glorious Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna 'as the sole lord of the land'.[2]

The story of seduction of King Nara's wife by magic by a Buddhist ascetic (Śramaṇa) suggests that the Buddhists like the Brāhmaṇas were well conversant with magic practices. In his wrath King Nara is recorded to have burned thousands of Vihāras and transferred the villages belonging to those vihāras to the Brāhmaṇas.[3]

King Meghavāhana was a staunch Buddhist who had prohibited the killing of animals in the land. The king and his wives caused the construction of many Vihāras and Stūpas.[4] The passages referring to this architectural activity are instructive. It is known that Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhist learning in the early centuries of the Christian Era and foreign students and missionaries from China and Central Asia used to come to Kashmir to get instructions in Buddhist lore.[5] King Meghavāhana

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[1] R.T., I, 171.

[2] R.T., I, 173.

[3] R.T., I, 199-200.

[4] R.T., III, 6 seq.

[5] Supra, pp. 161 sqq.

took special care for foreign students of Buddhist law. His wife Amṛtaprabhā is recorded to have constructed a lofty Vihāra called after her name Amṛtabhavana for the benefit of foreign Bhikṣus'. We also learn that Kashmir had cultural exchanges with the kingdom of Ladakh. The spiritual guide (guru) of the father of queen Amṛtaprabhā had come from Loḥ which in all probability[1] represents Leh, the capital of Ladakh. This queen is said to have built a Stūpa called Lo-stonpā.[2] Referring to the Vihāra built by queen Yūkadevī Kalhaṇa writes that one half of this Vihāra was alloted to those Bhikṣus 'whose conduct conformed to the precepts' and the other half to 'those who being in possession of wives, children, cattle and property, deserved blame for their life as householders'.[3] This sarcastic remark of Kalhaṇa tells the tale of married Bhikṣus in Kashmir.

Jayendra, the maternal uncle of King Pravarasena II the founder of Śrīnagar, built the Jayendravihāra and a statue of the 'Great Buddha' (Bṛhadbuddha).[4] M. A. Stein agrees with

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[1] M.A.Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p. 73 note.

[2] R.T., III, 10.

[3] R.T., III, 12.

[4] R.T., III, 355.

Dr. Bhau Daji's[1] identification of Che-ye-in-to-lo with Jayendra, the Vihāra where Hiuen Tsang stopped on his arrival in Kashmir.[2] The Rājataraṅgiṇī refers to the erection of Vihāras and Caityas by the ministers of King Yudhiṣṭra II, the son of Pravarasena II.[3] Amṛtaprabhā, the wife of King Raṇāditya is said to have placed a statue of Buddha in the Vihāra erected by Bhinnā the wife of an earlier king Meghavāhana.[4] We also hear of the construction of a Vihāra by a minister of King Vikramāditya.[5]

Anaṅgalekha, the wife of the first Karkoṭa king Durlabhavardhana, built the Anaṅgabhavana Vihāra.[6] The erection of a Vihāra is also attributed to the wife of Candrāpīḍa[7] the grandson of Durlabhavardhana. Buddhism received much patronage from the great king, Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa. He embellished Huṣkapura by erecting there a large Vihāra with a Stūpa.[8] Stein[9] identifies this Vihāra with the Moung-ti Vihāra mentioned

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[1] J.Bo.Br.R.A.S., 1861, p.223.

[2] Life, p.69.

[3] R.T., III, 380.

[4] R.T., III, 464.

[5] R.T., III, 476.

[6] R.T., IV, 3.

[7] R.T., IV, 79.

[8] R.T., IV, 188.

[9] Notes on Ou-K'ong, pp. 3 seq.

by Ou-K'ong. In his newly-founded town Parihāsapura he built the Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle (Catuḥśāla), a large Caitya and a colossal image of the Jina (Buddha), the glorious statue of the 'Great Buddha' (Bṛhadbuddha) and the Kayyavihāra.[1] His minister Caṅkuṇa from Tuhkhāra country erected the Caṅkuṇavihāra, a lofty Stūpa and golden images of the Jinas. In this Vihāra he later placed the image of Buddha.[2] This minister is also said to have founded at Śrīnagar, a Vihāra together with a Caitya.[3] The son-in-law of this minister also erected a Vihāra.[4] The magic powers which this Buddhist minister Caṅkuṇa possessed and surprised the King Lalitāditya by their display perhaps point to some forms of Tantric Buddhism in Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. Among many foundations carried out by King Jayāpīḍa in his newly-founded town Jayapura, mention may be made of three Buddha images and a large Vihāra.[5]

Hiuen Tsang's account of the state of Buddhism in Kashmir at the time when he visited the Valley is not very favourable.

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[1] R.T., IV, 200, 203, 210.

[2] R.T., IV, 211, 262. M.A. Stein identifies the Caṅkuṇavihāra with tsiang-kiun of Ou-K'ong. M.A.Stein, Notes on Ou-K'ong, pp. 19 seq.

[3] R.T., IV, 215.

[4] R.T., IV, 216.

[5] R.T., IV, 507.

Whereas he describes Buddhism being in a flourishing state in the time of Aśoka and Kaniṣka, in his own time the kingdom of Kashmir he says was 'not much given to the faith, and that the temples of the heretics were their sole thought'.[1] His stay in Kashmir coincides with one of the early Karkoṭa kings and if Ou-K'ong, who visited the Valley about a century and a half after Hiuen Tsang, notices the number of Vihāras as three times more than Hiuen Tsang it is all due to the patronage extended to Buddhism by the Karkoṭa kings in the period intervening between the visits of two Chinese pilgrims. The Buddhist remains discovered at the site of Parihāspura[2] - the stronghold of Buddhism, corroborate the literary references.

Buddhism received a severe setback after the eighth century A.D. The kings of this period who were mainly devoted to Śiva and Viṣṇu, did very little for the cause of Buddhism. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed little more than half a dozen of new Vihāras were constructed during the course of about three centuries, i.e. from the time of accession of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56) to that of King Jayasiṃha (A.D.1128). Though Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism got a thick edge over Buddhism, the latter cannot be said to have

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[1] Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, p.158.

[2] R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 146-149.

disappeared altogether from the Valley.

Kalhaṇa painfully informs us that King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) burned down the Jayendravihāra and utilized the brass of the image of Sugata (Buddha) in the construction of the Śiva temple Kṣemagaureśvara. He also confiscated thirty-six villages from this burnt Vihāra.[1] But this was due to political reasons rather than any anti-Buddhist feelings on the part of the king as Kalhaṇa informs us that the king had to burn the Vihāra in order to kill Dāmara Saṁgrama who when attacked had entered this Vihāra. During the period of her regency Queen Dīdda built a Vihāra with a high quadrangle for the Kashmirians and foreigners (daiśika).[2] During his last days King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) in whom there occurred 'an unheard of change for the worse' in his conduct, he is said to have seized the brass images from the Vihāras and destroyed also the copper image of Sūrya called Tāmrasvāmin.[3] Similarly the policy of religious persecution pursued by King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) which is discussed in detail in the following account was directed towards Hinduism and Buddhism alike. King Uccala

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[1] R.T., VI, 171-175.

[2] R.T., VI, 303.

[3] R.T., VII, 695 seq.

(A.D. 1101-1111) and his wife Jayamatī erected each a Vihāra.[1]

Though very dim, the torch of Buddhism kept on burning during this period. Buddhism found in King Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) a great patron of its faith. During his time many Vihāras were not only repaired but built anew. He patronized the Vihāra built by the Queen Ratnādevī.[2] He completed his uncle Uccala's Sullāvihāra which had remained unfinished.[3] Jayasiṁha's ministers also did a lot for the revival of Buddhism. A Vihāra was constructed by a minister Rilhaṇa,[4] in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā. Sussalā herself before her death, 'built afresh the illustrious Caṅkuṇavihāra of which nothing but the name remained, by erecting a stone shrine (prāsāda)'.[5] We are told that King Jayasiṁha arranged for the completion of a Vihāra of his minister Dhanya who died without completing it.[6] The erection of a beautiful Vihāra with five buildings within it is associated with Cintā, the wife of commander-in-chief Udaya.[7] Though the erection of

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[1] R.T., VIII, 246, 248.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2402, 2433.

[3] R.T., VIII, 3318.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2410.

[5] R.T., VIII, 2415.

[6] R.T., VIII, 3343-44.

[7] R.T., VIII, 3362-53.

Vihāras appears insignificant before the large number of foundations in honour of Śiva and Viṣṇu, still it points to the existance of Buddhism as late as the time of Kalhaṇa.[1]

The gods Śiva and Viṣṇu have been worshipped since ancient times long before Buddhism made its foothold in Kashmir. Simultaneously, we propose to trace their brief history and patronage extended to them by the kings by way of consecrating temples in their honour and by other means.

Śiva Vijayeśa and Viṣṇu Cakradhara are the oldest and most popular temples of Kashmir.[2] A perusal of Kashmirian literature shows that these temples kept their prominence throughout the Hindu rule. Aśoka is recorded to have replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara by one of stone. After the replacement Aśoka built within the enclosure of Vijayeśa and near it, two temples called Asokeśvara.[3] Aśoka is described as an ardent devotee of Śiva Bhūteśa. Aśoka's son Jalauka was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva[4] and is said to have erected shrines of Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and Bhūteśa at Śrīnagarī

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[1] Supra, pp. 167 sqq.

[2] R.T., I, 38.

[3] R.T., I, 105-106.

[4] R.T., I, 107; supra, p.p. 428-429.

and Nandikṣetra respectively.[1] King Rāvaṇa is described as the worshipper of Liṅga called Vaṭeśvara which was shining even in the time of Kalhaṇa.[2] The violent Huṇa King Mihirakula who is described as 'the god of death' built in order to earn religious merit, the shrine of Śiva Mihireśvara at Śrīnagarī (old Śrīnagar).[3] King Gokarṇa and his son Narendrāditya I consecrated respectively the shrines of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara and Śiva Bhūteśvara.[4] Ugra, the teacher of Narendrāditya, built the shrine of Śiva Ugreśa.[5] King Tuñjīna erected the temple of Śiva Tuṅgeśvara.[6] King Saṁdhimat Āryarāja was greatly devoted to Śiva and is credited with the construction of numerous Śiva liṅgas, triśūlas and the images of the bull of Śiva as also the shrines of Śiva Saṁdhīśvara and Iśesvara.[7] King Pravarasena I constructed the shrine of Pravareśvara.[8] Pravarasena II was zealously devoted to Śiva and is described, according

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[1] R.T., I, 124 seq., 148.

[2] R.T., I, 194-195.

[3] R.T., I, 306.

[4] R.T., I, 346- 347.

[5] R.T., I, 348.

[6] R.T., II, 14.

[7] R.T., II, 123-141.

[8] R.T., III, 99.

to a story related by Kalhaṇa, to have consecrated the liṅga of Pravareśvara as also the image of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin.[1] He also established in his newly founded city Pravarapura (modern Śrīnagar) shrines of five goddesses, 'who were designated by the word Śrī as Sadbhāvaśrī and so on'.[2] King Raṇāditya consecrated after his name, the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, under the name of Raṇeśvara and Raṇasvāmin.[3] Two temples namely the Raṇāṛambhasvāmin and Raṇārambhadeva were built after his wife's name Raṇārambha.[4] Amṛtaprabhā, another wife of this king, built the shrine of Amṛteśvara near the temple of Raṇeśa.[5] Vikramāditya, the son of Raṇāditya, built the shrine of Śiva Vikrameśvara.[6] Bimba, the wife of King Balāditya, built the shrine of Śiva Bimbeśvara.[7]

The Gonanda dynasty was succeeded by the Karkoṭa dynasty. Of the Karkoṭa kings, Durlabhavardhana the founder of the dynasty

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[1] R.T., III, 350-351.

[2] R.T., III, 353.

[3] R.T., III, 439-460.

[4] R.T., III, 460.

[5] R.T., III, 463.

[6] R.T., III, 474.

[7] R.T., III, 482.

built at Śrīnagarī (old capital), the shrine of Viṣṇu Durlabhasvāmin.[1] His son Malhaṇa erected the shrine of Viṣṇu Malhaṇasvāmin:[2] Narendraprabhā, the queen of King Durlabhaka-Pratāpāditya II erected the shrine of Narendreśvara.[3] The virtuous guru of King Candrāpīḍa built the temple of Viṣṇu Gambhīrasvāmin.[4] The city prefect of King Candrāpīḍa named Chalitaka built the temple of Viṣṇu Chalitasvāmin.[5] Hinduism got liberal patronage from the great Karkoṭa King Lalitāditya-Muktapīḍa. Of the shrines consecrated in honour of Viṣṇu, we may refer to the shrine of Keśava Viṣṇu at Darpitapura,[6] the shrine of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin at Huṣkapura[7] and the silver image of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśvara, the golden image of Viṣṇu Muktākeśava, the golden image of Viṣṇu Mahāvarāha, the silver image of Govardhanadhara, all these images set up at his newly-founded town Parihāsapura.[8] Lalitāditya's queen

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[1] R.T., IV, 6.

[2] R.T., IV, 4.

[3] R.T., IV, 38.

[4] R.T., IV, 80.

[5] R.T., IV, 81.

[6] R.T., IV, 183.

[7] R.T., IV, 188.

[8] R.T., IV, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202.

Kamalavatī put up the large silver image of Kamalākeśava.[1] To the shrine of Śiva Bhūteśa he offered a huge sum as an expiatory offering.[2] He also built a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra.[3] His minister Mitraśarman made the Śiva liṅga called Mitreśvara.[4] A teacher called Bhappaṭa put up the Liṅga at Bhappateśvara and numerous other Liṅgas called Rakchaṭeśa were made by people.[5] Of the two images of Keśava attributed to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, which King Lalitāditya found according to a fanciful story narrated in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, he consecrated them under the name of Rāmasvāmin and Lakṣmaṇasvāmin.[6] These references coupled with those in the Nīlamatapurāṇa where reference is also made to the Rāmatīrtha, convey that Rāma was worshipped in Kashmir as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.[7] Śrīrāma is one of the ten incarnations dealt with in the Daśāvatāracarita of Kṣemendra. The other avatāras referred to

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[1] R.T., IV, 208.

[2] R.T., IV, 189.

[3] R.T., IV, 190.

[4] R.T., IV, 209.

[5] R.T., IV, 214.

[6] R.T., IV, 265-276.

[7] Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1157, 913, 1312, 1352.

are Śrīkṛṣṇa, Paraśurāma, Buddha, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, and Karkya.

King Jayāpīḍa built the shrine of Vipulakeśava.[1] Āca, the chamberlain of King Jayāpīḍa, erected a shrine of Śiva Āceśvara.[2] To deliver Jayāpīḍa from sinfulness he committed in the later part of his reign, the mother of the king built the temple of Amṛtakeśvara.[3] Jayādevī the mother of King Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, constructed the shrine of Śiva Jayeśvara.[4] Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyāṇa and Mamma, the five ministers of king Ajitāpīḍa, built temples of Viṣṇu under their names, i.e. Utpalasvāmin, Padmasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin and Mammasvāmin.[5]

Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism made great strides from the ninth century onwards, overshadowing completely the religion of the Buddha. Śūravarman, the brother of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) from a different mother, built the temple of Viṣṇu Śūravarmasvāmin.[6] Samara, another brother of King Avantivarman, erected

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[1] R.T., IV, 484.

[2] R.T., IV, 513.

[3] R.T., IV, 659.

[4] R.T., IV, 681.

[5] R.T., IV, 695-698.

[6] R.T., V, 23.

for Keśava in his quadruple form the temple called Samarasvāmin.[1] Mahodaya, the chief door-keeper of minister Śūra, built the shrine of Viṣṇu Mahodayasvāmin.[2] The minister Prabhākaravarman erected the shrine of Viṣṇu Prabhākarasvāmin.[3] Śūra, the illustrious minister of King Avantivarman, built at Sureśvarīkṣetra, the shrine of Śiva in the form of Ardhanārīśvara.[4] He also built the temple of Śūreśvara.[5] The wife and a son of Śūra built at Sureśvarī the temple of Kāvyadevīśvara and Śiva Bhūteśvara respectively.[6] King Avantivarman built in his newly-founded town of Avantipura, the temples of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin and Śiva Avantīśvara.[7] Śaṁkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) founded the town Śaṁkarapura and erected there in company with his wife Sugandhā, the temples of Śiva Śaṁkaragaurīśa and Sugandheśa.[8] His minister Ratnavardhana built the temple of Sadāśiva called Ratnavardhaneśa.[9] Queen

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[1] R.T., V, 25.

[2] R.T., V, 28.

[3] R.T., V, 30.

[4] R.T., V, 37, supra, p. 447.

[5] R.T., V, 38.

[6] R.T., V, 40-41.

[7] R.T., V, 45.

[8] R.T., V, 158.

[9] R.T., V, 163.

Sugandhā founded the temple of Viṣṇu Gopālakeśvara after her son Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-904).[1] Nandā, the wife of King Gopālavarman, built the shrine of Nandākeśvara.[2] Meruvardhana, the minister of King Pārtha (A.D. 906-921), built the shrine of Viṣṇu Meruvardhanasvāmin.[3]

King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948), the founder of the next dynasty, died without completing the shrine of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin. It was completed by King Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950) who also built the shrine of Śiva Parvagupteśvara.[4] Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa, a courtier of King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), built the temple of Viṣṇu Phalguṇasvāmin.[5] King Kṣemagupta founded the temple of Śiva Kṣemagaurīśvara.[6] Bhīma Sāhi, the maternal grandfather of Diddā the queen of Kṣemagupta, built the temple of Viṣṇu Bhīmakeśava.[7] Diddā founded the temple of Viṣṇu Abhimanyusvāmin in the memory of her son Abhimanyu.[8] She also erected the temples

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[1] R.T., V, 244.

[2] R.T., V, 245.

[3] R.T., V, 267-268.

[4] R.T., VI, 137, 140-141.

[5] R.T., VI, 169.

[6] R.T., VI, 172-173. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 23.

[7] R.T., VI, 178.

[8] R.T., VI, 299.

of Viṣṇu Diddāsvāmin and Viṣṇu Siṁhasvāmin, the latter under the name of her father.[1]

The temple of Śiva Raṇeśvara underwent restoration in the time of King Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D.1003-28) the first ruler of the first Lohara dynasty.[2] Sūryamatī, the queen of King Ananta (A.D.1028-1063) built the temple of Śiva Gaurīśvara and Sadāśiva.[3] Many Bāṇaliṅgas and Triśūlas were also consecrated under her patronage.[4] King Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089) founded at Tripureśvara a temple of Śiva 'the Āmalaka ornament (āmalspāra) of which was of gold'.[5] He also built the shrine of Śiva Kalaśeśvara, 'the stone temple of which had a roof adorned with innumerable golden cups (ghaṭī)'.[6]

Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) despoied the temples of its images. The only kmages that escaped spoliation were those of Raṇasvāmin, Mārtāṇḍa and the two statues of Buddha, the latter as a result of special requests made by a favourite singer Kanaka the uncle of Kalhaṇa and by a śramaṇa kuśalaśrī.[7] This action of his which

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[1] R.T., VI, 300, 304.

[2] R.T., VII, 115.

[3] R.T., VII, 180-181.

[4] R.T., VII, 185.

[5] R.T., VII, 526.

[6] R.T., VII, 527.

[7] R.T., VII, 1097-1098.

brought him the epithet Turuṣka from Kalhaṇa, has been attributed by scholars like Sir Aurel Stein[1] to his leanings towards Islam. But a perusal of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that the idea to plunder the temples was incidental and not a creation of his mind. Before he started on his plundering expedition he, under the influence of parasites, executed some of his relatives thereby Kalhaṇa writes: 'The king, whose mind was perverted by the most sinful perfidies against his relatives, came then to be exploited by rogues to such an extent as would be incredible even of simpletons'.[2] This Kalhaṇa explains by a story. He informs us that a parasite Loṣṭhadhara, the grandson of Haladhara a minister under King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63), informs Harṣa that in the time of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), the temple of Bhīmakeśava[3] was locked up on account of a quarrel among the members of the purohita corporation (pāriṣadya). After the settlement of the quarrel when the temple was opened the silver armour of the god's image was found to be missing whence they locked it up again from fear of such theft. 'Let, therefore, the treasures of this shrine, which cause the fear of theft, be taken away' thus addressed

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[1] M. A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.353.

[2] R.T., VII, 1072.

[3] Supra, p. 207.

Lostadhara to King Harsa. Harsa acted accordingly and found rich treasury and 'reflected upon what riches there might be in other wealthy temples, when there was such wealth in this deserted shrine'.[1] This natural greed to acquire treasures from other temples overpowered him at a time when he was under financial pressure. Kalhana emphatically writes thus: 'As he was addicted to extravagant expenditure upon various corps of his army, his thoughts in consequence of the above assumption became in time firmly fixed upon the spoliation of temples'.[2] This follows that spoliation of temples was necessitated by financial reasons rather than by leanings towards Islam. Luxurious court, huge expenditure on army and the costly presents to flattering courtiers all put him in financial straits. Harsa seemed to have been in great financial troubles as he tried to secure more wealth by oppressing the people. Kalhana sarcastically writes: 'O shame! Though he possessed his grandfather's and father's treasures and those which Utkarsa at the commencement of his reign had brought from Lohara, and though he had confiscated from the temples the riches bestowed by former kings, yet he endeavoured to secure more wealth by oppressing the householders'.[3]

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[1] R.T., VII, 1087.

[2] R.T., VII, 1089.

[3] R.T., VII, 1100-1101.

New officers were appointed for this purpose who received their designation from new imposts. One of these was the office of 'prefect of property' (arthanāyaka)[1] accompanying the task of plundering the property of all temples and villages. Kalhaṇa writes painfully: 'What more? As he was seizing the property of all by all sorts of prefects (nāyaka), he appointed also "a prefect of night soil" to raise revenue'.[2] As for King Harṣa's motives in seizing the statues of gods for which he appointed Udayarāja 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images (devotpāṭanānāyaka) and desecrating them by getting poured over them excrements and urine by naked mendicants (nagnāṭa) he was, as A. L. Basham opines, 'impelled by some motive other than the mere relief of financial stringency; and it may surely be inferred that the king's whole policy was in part inspired by a bias towards heresy'.[3]

King Uccala (A.D. 1111-1128) was known to have been passionately fond of restoring the decayed buildings. He put in order the sites of Cakradhara, Yogeśa and Svayambhū and put up afresh

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[1] R.T., VII, 1103-1104.

[2] R.T., VII, 1107.

[3] A.L.Basham, 'Harṣa of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics', B.S.O.A.S., Vol. XII, pp. 688-691.

at Parihāsapura the image of Viṣṇu Parihāsakeśava, which had been carried off by Harṣa.[1] He is also praised for his adornment of the temple of Viṣṇu Tribhuvanasvāmin with parrot house (Śukavalī) which Harṣa carried off.[2] In the time of King Jayasiṃha (A.D. 1128-1149) many temples were erected not only by the king but by his queens and ministers. Raḍḍā, the queen of Jayasiṃha, founded the shrine of Śiva Rudreśvara.[3] Another queen Ratnāvatī founded Vaikuṇṭhamaṭha and many other pious buildings.[4] The image of the Death-vanquisher (Śiva) which she put up 'shines forth amidst buildings resplendent with stucco'.[5] The wonderful Gokula which she erected put to shame the existing Gokulas.[6] She is also famed for the erection of the image of Viṣṇu Govardhana-dhara.[7] A minister Rilhaṇa by name founded the shrine of Śiva Rilhaṇeśvara at Purāṇādhiṣṭhana (old capital Śrīnagarī).[8] Alaṁkara,

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[1] R.T., VIII, 78, 79.

[2] R.T., VIII, 80.

[3] R.T., VIII, 3389-3391.

[4] R.T., VIII, 2433.

[5] R.T., VIII, 2435.

[6] R.T., VIII, 2436.

[7] R.T., VIII, 2438.

[8] R.T., VIII, 2409.

the superintendent of the great treasury (bṛhadgañja) was a pious devotee of Viṣṇu and used to present cows at the festival of Viṣṇu Adi Varāha.[1] The minister Bhuṭṭa consecrated a Liṅga of Śiva Bhuṭṭeśvara.[2] Maṅkha or Maṅkhaka, the brother of Alaṁkara the minister of foreign affairs (Sāṁdhivigrahika) and the author of Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, constructed a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva).[3] Sumanas, the younger brother of Rilhaṇa, built at Śrīnagar a shrine of Śiva, named after himself.[4]

We had frequent occasion to notice the important role which the secondary gods and goddesses like the Bhairava, Nandin, Vināyaka, Kārttikeya, Sūrya, Moon, Agni, Wind, Kāmadeva, Śrī, Durgā, Śāradā Sarasvatī, Matṛcakras (circles of the mothers) etc., played in the worship of the Kashmirians.

H. H. Wilson writes that the religion of Kashmir has been 'Hindu from a very remote date. Originally no doubt it was the Ophite or snake worship, but this is a part of the Hindu ritual, and the Nāgas are included in the orthodox pantheon: the adoration of Siva was soon ingrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified'.

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[1] R.T., VIII, 2425.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2432.

[3] R.T., VIII, 3354.

[4] R.T., VIII, 3359.

'It appears that the Bauddha schism was known in Cashmir at a very early period, and possibly preceded the introduction of a fully organized Brahmanical priesthood: it probably in short preceded the introduction of the Brahmanical caste..... If any conclusion might be drawn from such imperfect premises, it might be supposed, that the inhabitants of Cashmir originally followed an idolatrous system of their own, to which they superadded a few ill defined Gods and ceremonies, borrowed from the Brahmans of the plains; that whilst they were yet open to conversion, an attempt was made from the other side, or from Tartary, to introduce Buddhaism amongst them, which was combated and finally frustrated by southern assistance: the national faith of Cashmir has ever since continued Hindu, and the almost exclusive form of adoration has been that addressed to Śiva and his Śacti'.[1]

Agreeing with the truth this statement carries, the characteristic features of the religion of Kashmir should not be lost sight of, i.e. the peaceful existence of different creeds side by side. In the long history of Kashmir we do not come across any incident when a king adhering to a particular faith took measures against other creeds. Nor do we notice any ill-feeling

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[1] H. H. Wilson, 'An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir', Asiatic Researches, 1825, Vol. XV, pp. 83-84.

and animosity among the laity so far as the observance of different faiths is concerned. On the other hand the accommodating nature of the Kings and the Kashmirians deserves to be praised. The foregoing account has shown that numerous kings, queens, ministers and other individuals who founded shrines for Śiva, Viṣṇu and other Hindu gods constructed with equal devotion Stūpas and Vihāras as well. In this regard reference may particularly be made to important rulers like Aśoka, Lalitāditya, Jayāpiḍa, Queen Diddā, Uccala (A.D.1101-1111), Sussala (A.D.1111-28), Jayaśiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149), Queen Ratnādevī of Jayasiṁha, ministers Bhuṭṭa, Dhanya, Udaya and Rilhaṇa of King Jayasiṁha etc. Buddha had received a place in orthodox pantheon as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Kṣemendra in his Daśāvātaracarita described Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. And the Nīlamatapurāṇa, the Kashmirian Bible and the most important scripture of Kashmirian Hinduism, enjoins the celebration of the birthday of Buddha as a great festival.[1] Buddha or the Bodhisattvas were not only considered as 'the comforters of all beings', 'the embodiments of perfect charity and nobility of eeling', and 'beings of absolute goodness (sattava) who do not feel anger even towards the sinner, but in patience render him kindness', but some of their doctrines were enforced by even those kings who followed Hinduism. Not only King Megha-

[1] Supra, p. 394.

vāhana who was a devout Buddhist, but kings like Matṛgupta and Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) prohibited the slaughter of living creatures.[1] The doctrines of Buddhism were alive even in the twelfth century.[2] The striking example of the peaceful existence of different creeds and the accommodating nature of the Kashmirians can be explained by the fact that Kalhaṇa's father Caṇpaka was an ardent worshipper of Śiva and a regular pilgrim of Nandikṣetra, his uncle Kanaka was a Buddhist and Kalhaṇa himself seems to have given both to Hinduism and Buddhism.

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[1] R.T., III, 4-7, 27 seq., 256; V, 64, 119.

[2] R.T., VIII, 2234, 2574.

Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the period under study witnessed tremendous activity in Kashmir. Whereas vast parts of India were gradually folding in the face of Muslim invasion, the land of Kashmir, enjoying immunity from such danger as it was protected by the mountain-ramparts, provided its inhabitants with an independent life of their own. But this should not lead us to think that all was well with the Kashmirians. They had to sort out troubles in their own house. A perusal of the Rājatarangiṇī gives us a strong impression that much of our period was afflicted with civil war, caused by court intrigues, disloyal ministers and the near relatives of the ruling monarch and, above all, the feudal landlords whose power and influence had flowered by this time. The imcompetence of some of the rulers, particularly of the tenth century, was an important factor leading to these conditions. Sometimes Kalhaṇa seems to exaggerate the sufferings resulting from such troubles and if we believe him blindly it would appear that the conditions were rather dismal. It is unlikely that during such troubled times, the common man should always have been affected. When some drama was being played against the king in and around the palace or in a certain part of the Valley, the king was hard-pressed

at the hands of pretenders or some Dāmara chief, the common man was not influenced by it. But certainly there occurred many sad occasions, as the account of Kalhaṇa demonstrates, when the whole population was hard-hit by the sackings and burnings of their property coupled with fiscal oppression. We may say without any fear of contradiction that there have been ups and downs and Kashmir of our period witnessed sunny, cloudy and showery intervals.

Tolerance characterized the Kashmirian life before and during the period under question. We do not read of discrimination of any sort and different varṇas had a happy passage though admittedly the Brāhmaṇas who constituted an important part of the population held an upper edge and like their brethren in India proper, enjoyed a certain privilege and immunities. Complete freedom and tolerance is discernible in the worship of different gods and goddesses and the observance of different rites and ceremonies onthe festive occasions. The Kashmirians appear to have been very strict in the observance of utsavas prescribed in the Nīlamatapurāṇa. Many of these festivals were similar to those observed elsewhere in India, some were peculiar to them. The holy land of Kashmir being pervaded with all sorts of Tīrthas, zealous devotion for and the realisation of great importance of tīrthayatra by the Kashmirians can hardly be over-estimated. There was a remarkable development in the field of architecture. Numerous temples, mathas

and vihāras were founded by the kings, queens and private individuals alike; The maṭhas and vihāras of the 'land of Sarasvatī', as Kashmir was known as, were great centres of Hindu and Buddhist learning and attracted foreign students in great number. The literature speaks of maṭhas and vihāras which were founded exclusively for foreign students. Our period witnessed great literary activity and tons of texts in all branches of learning were composed, which enjoy a very prominent place inthe literary world. Of the men of letters of this period we mention specially the names of Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Somadeva, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa who shed lustre on the Sanskrit literature by their writings and won laurels for their land.

The kings, ministers, influential kāyasthas, big landlords and such merchants led a luxurious life in their palacial buildings. The Kashmirian palace comprised many storeys and an apartment having a hundred gates (śatadvāra) must have been a beauty and excited wonder. To tell us about the life of landed aristocrats, rich merchants and state officers, we hand over to Dāmodaragupta, who in his Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya[1] gives a description of a son of an officer under king's service. He is depicted as wearing finger rings and ear rings of a distinctive variety and thin golden threads around his neck. He wears shoes having ornamental

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[1] Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya, 61-70.

designs. His limbs as well as clothes are yellowish with saffron (kuṁkama). His clothes have a gold border and while appearing in public, he is accompanied by attendants. The houses of rich merchants were decorated with lamps of jewels (maṇidīpikā).[1] We get indications of differences in the standard of living. Kalhaṇa informs us that whereas the courtiers ate fried meat and drank wine cooled and perfumed with flowers, the common Kashmiri contented himself with rice and utpalaśāka, a vegetable of bitter taste. Luxurious theatre-halls equipped with leather-cushioned couches were meant only for the rich and the common man could only afford to witness theatrical performances under an open sky. As noticed above, Dāmodargupta describes the son of an officer as decked in costly gold ornaments and the betel-casket bearer who accompanies him is mentioned as wearing around his neck a garland of glass beads and conch-shell bangles on his wrist. Kṣemendra also portrays such differences in the standard of living - the rich ladies are said to have adorned themselves with ornaments of gold whereas the poor could afford only earthen (ladanmṛtkarṇabhūṣaṇa).

Ancient Kashmir was self-sufficient in food and drink. Rice was the principle product and the staple food of the Kashmirians.

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[1] R.T., IV, 15.

As elsewhere in India, in Kashmir too, the prices of commodities in peaceful times were fairly low though the victuals of import such as salt, pepper and hiṅgu etc. were pretty dear and were not within the orbit of the poor to go in for. Grapes were fruits par excellence. Meat-eating and wine drinking (madyapāna) were fairly common. But as we move along our period of study to the times of Kalhaṇa, we gauge signs of economic decay and it looks as if the lower classes, particularly in the villages, and the cultivators were poor and had to be satisfied with basic necessities only. Kṣemendra who is unrivalled and adept in sketching representative characters of his time describes a peasant as the veritable embodiment of poverty and misery who toils hard in his field and in the process his hands and feet get cracked, his hair becomes tawny with dust and he suffers not only from hunger and thirst but from the cuts he receives while at work.[1] Elsewhere, he refers to the sons of householders who, being compelled by poverty, work hard in the fields, and suffer pangs of hunger and thirst.[2] The Aucityavicarac poor, having limited means, cannot fully enjoy a festival.[3] In the Aucityavicāracarcā,

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[1] Avadānakalpalatā, XXIV, 94-96.

[2] Avadānakalpalatā, XVII, 14.

[3] Suvṛttatilaka, III, 26.

Kṣemendra points to an uninvited stranger who sits in the line of people taking food but being found out, is put to shame.[1] Grammar cannot fill a hungry stomach, nor can the juice of poetry be drunk by thirsty mouths. Nobody ever could rescue his family by learning. All the arts are fruitless, therefore one should earn gold alone.[2] A study of the Rājataraṅgiṇī shows that the causes of poverty and misery were the increasing power of the feudal landlords who very often resorted to sacking and burning, enacting ways of the kāyasthas and the merchant-creditors, occasional fresh taxation and the famines. That conditions can become shocking and disgusting during a famine if the ruling monarchs are weak and cruel may be explained by reference to two famines which afflicted Kashmir during our period. Referring to the famine of A.D.917-918, Kalhaṇa informs us that the ministers and the Tantrins made fortunes by selling stores of rice at exorbitant prices and king Pārtha would take that person as minister who would raise money by selling the subjects. Kalhaṇa ridicules Harṣa for not taking any relief measures at the time of the famine of A.D.1099-1100. Harṣa continued with his policy of taxation and imposed heavy fines which led Kalhaṇa to say: 'While the people were thus distressed, the king threw upon them heavy fines which took away their breath, just as if a

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[1] Aucityavicāracarcā, p.22.

[2] Aucityavicāracarcā, p.26.

boulder [were thrown] on an old bullock which has become worn out by [dragging] the plough.'[1] How such sad occasions encouraged black-marketing is illustrated by Kṣemendra. He refers to an avaricious and greedy merchant who hoards paddy and other grains but does not sell them though he has kept them for sixty years. He looks forward to a famine so that he may sell his stores at high prices.[2] Giving an all round look, we would say that the conditions, in general, were good.

Normally, the succession was in accordance with the law of primogeniture. Women continued to be held in great respect, rather there had been an improvement in their position. Queens Sugandhā and Diddā ruled Kashmir in their own names. Ananta's queen Sūryamatī had great influence in the administration of the affairs. The institution of satī gained ground during this period and came to be practised on a wide scale. The accounts of Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa show that prostitution was a regular feature of the society. The institution of devadāsī was prevalent. The women of Kashmir were proficient in dance and drama. Instrumental and vocal music was widely cultivated in the Valley and the Kashmirians followed the precepts of Bharata's Naṭaśāstra. Dice and chess were the favourite games.

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[1] R.T., VII, 1225.

[2] Deśopadeśa, II, 33f.

The cold weather of the country requires its inhabitants to wear woollen clothes almost the whole year and the principle type of dress, both for men and women, has, since ancient times, been a long cloak (prāvāra). Under south Indian influence, a section of the female population, particularly belonging to rich families, came to use a kind of dress broadly spoken of as sāri. Both men and women had a keen liking for the ornaments, the most common were the ear rings, wristlets, necklaces, bracelets, armlets and anklets.

The Kashmirians held strong beliefs in astrology, different omens and superstitutions and in the power of Nāgas, Piśācas, Bhūtas, Rākṣaras etc. Witchcraft was widely practised in the Valley.

In a place like Kashmir, dotted with rivers and lakes, the importance of river-navigation can hardly be over-estimated. Boats formed the most important means of communication. Horses and carriages formed other important conveyances. Elephants and palanquins were used by the kings and the aristocrats. Besides, the physical features go a long way in making the Kashmirians hardy and athletic and, being good walkers, they covered long journeys on foot.

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FIFTH BOOK.

THE DYNASTY OF UTPALA.

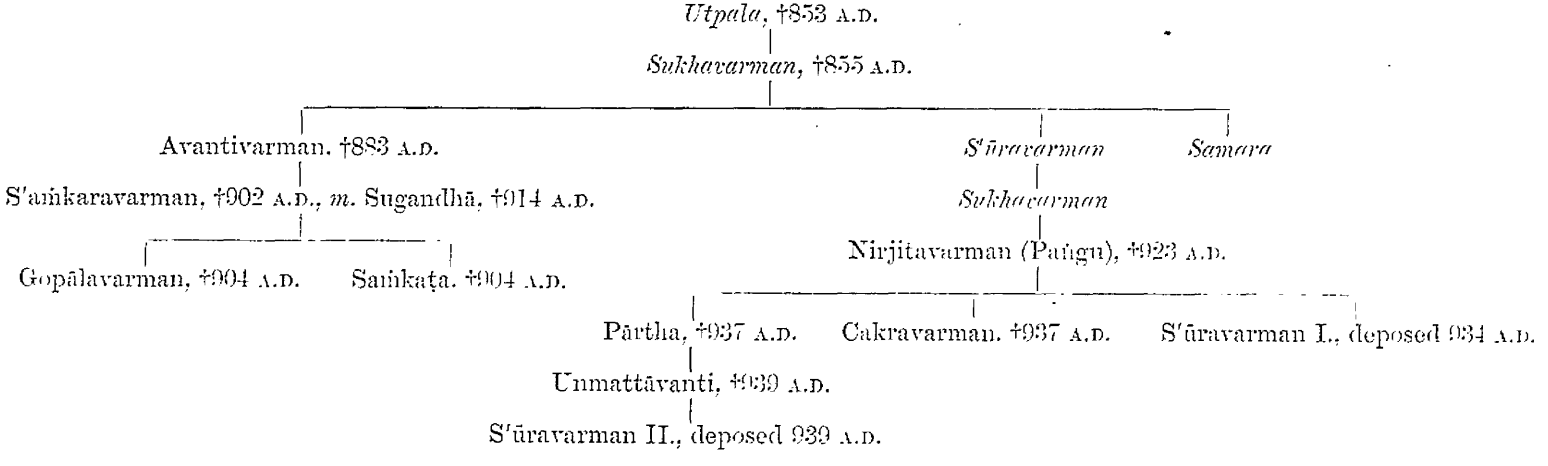


Table 2.

514

SIXTH BOOK.

Viradeva

Kāmadeva	*Rāmadeva*
Prabhākaradeva	Varṇaṭa, deposed 948 A.D.
Yaśaskaradeva, †948 A.D.	
Saṅgrāmadeva, †949 A.D.	

Abhinava, a 'Divira'		
Saṅgrāmagupta		*Bhīmaśāhi, of Kābul*
Parvagupta, †950 A.D.	*Siṁharāja, of Lohara, m.*	
Kṣemagupta, †958 A.D., *m.* Diddā, †1003 A.D.		
Abhimanyu, †972 A.D.		
Nandigupta, †973 A.D.	Tribhuvana[gupta], †975 A.D.	Bhīmagupta, †980/1 A.D.

PLATE V

PLATE IV.

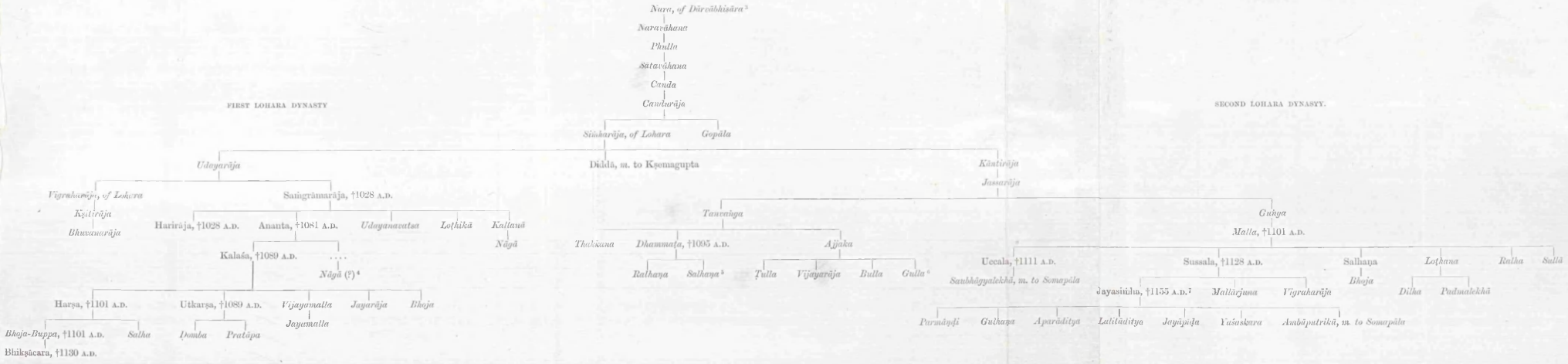
KASHMIR.

PLATE VI

PLATE V.

KASHMIR.

THE LOHARA DYNASTY.[2]



[2] Compare for the earlier pedigree of the Lohara family, vii. 1282-87.

[3] This ancestor of the Lohara family is probably identical with *Nara*, a chief in Dārvābhisāra, mentioned iv. 712.

[4] It is doubtful whether the *Nāgā* referred to, vii. 1148, is not identical with the princess of that name mentioned as a daughter of Ananta's sister Kallanā in vii. 293; compare note vii. 1148.

[5] It is not quite certain whether Ralhaṇa and Salhaṇa mentioned in vii. 1053 as grandsons of Tanvaṅga, were sons of Dhammaṭa, as suggested by the context.

[6] The context of vii. 1055 makes it probable that Vijayarāja, Bulla and Gulla, "grandsons of Tanvaṅga," were brothers of Ṭulla, whose descent from Ajjaka is clearly stated in vii. 1053.

[7] The date of Jayasiṁha's death is given by *Jonar.* 38.

11.
Above: row of lotus medallions. *Below:* female musician wearing trousers; she plays on a drum, which is apparently slung over her left shoulder. Floral motifs on either side.

12.
A dancer wearing large ear-rings and dressed in loose robe and trousers, with a long scarf held in both hands, which she waves over her head.

HARWAN

PLATE II

6.

HARWAN

PLATE III

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

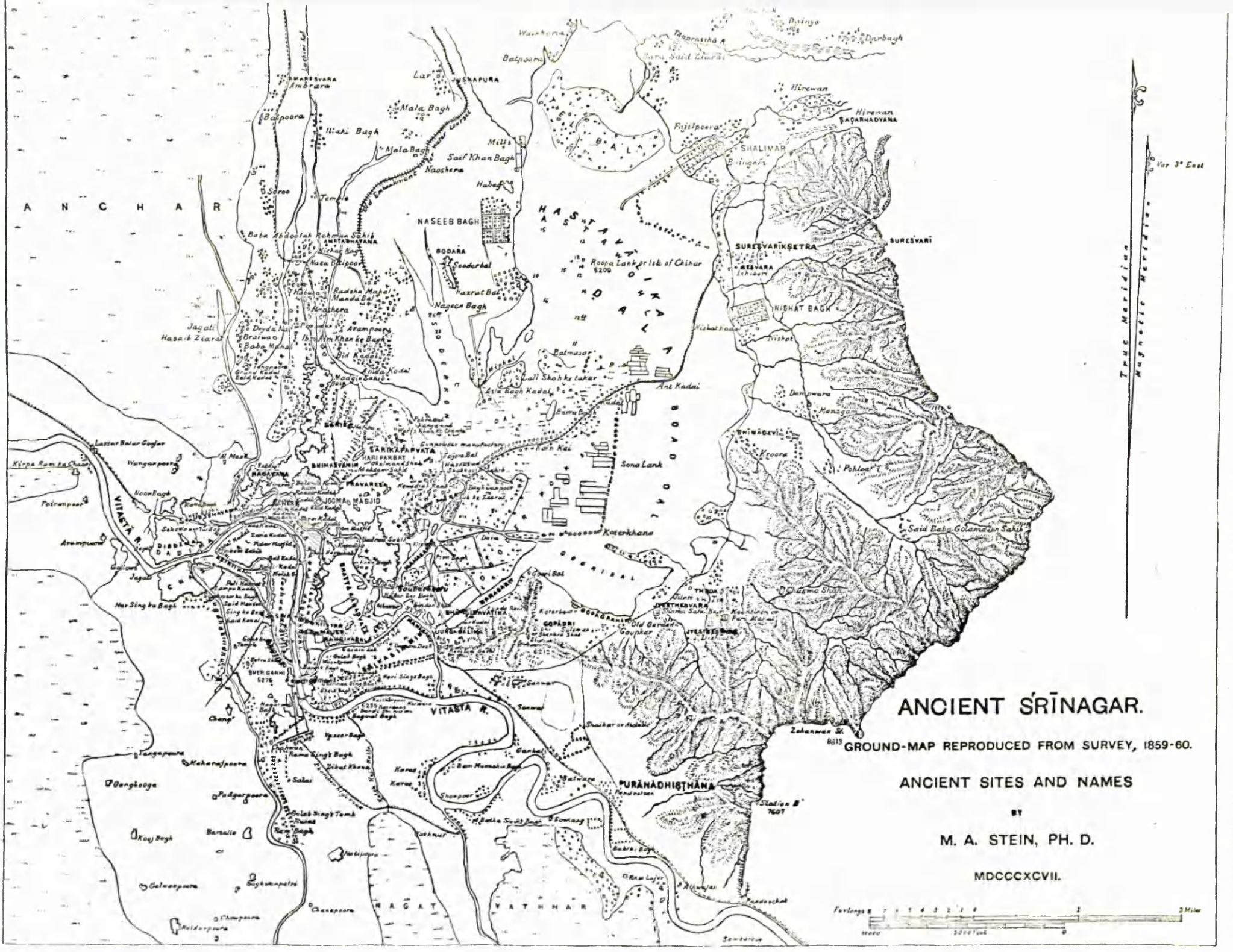
18.

13 and 15. Show fret borders. 14. *Upper register:* three musicians. The one to left plays a flute; the centre one, cymbals; the third, a pair of drums. *Middle register:* a mounted hunter aiming an arrow at a fleeing deer. In front, a tree and hind-quarters of galloping horse (probably part of repetition of hunting incident). *Lower register:* a row of circular rosettes. 16. *Above:* repetition of part of (1) Plate XXII. *Below:* lotus rosette. *Kharoshthi numerals:* 4 (inverted). 17. Two impressions of a rectangle containing a dragon (*makara*) with foliate tail and crest, upraised trunk-like snout and protruding tongue. In upper right corner, a four-limbed star. 18. *Above:* border of geese (inverted), one with upraised wings. *Below:* upper part of an archer wearing conical cap.

PLATE IV

21.
Above: left, conventional fleur-de-lis. Centre, rosettes. Right, circular flower vase on a tripod. *Below:* cocks fighting over what appears to be a lily bud.

22.
In central circle, a cock, regardant, with foliate tail; surrounded by circle of roundels; the whole within rectangular frame of pearls.


ANCIENT ŚRĪNAGAR.
GROUND-MAP REPRODUCED FROM SURVEY, 1859-60.
ANCIENT SITES AND NAMES
BY
M. A. STEIN, PH. D.
MDCCCXCVII.
ANCHAR
NAGAT
VATHNAR
VITASTA R.
PURĀNADHIṢṬHĀNA
SURESVARIKṢETRA
NASEEB BAGH
NISHAT BAGH
SHALIMAR
HARI PARBAT
ŚANKARĀCHARYA
Hazrat Bal
Naseem Bagh
Mala Bagh
Shah Hamdan
Jama Masjid
Khanqah
Dal Gate
Char Chenar
Nishat
Pohloar
Kroora
Dampoora
Menzgam
Zakanwan
Forlongs
Miles
Var 3° East
True Meridian
Magnetic Meridian